

L. g. sept.

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Englisches
L e s e - b u c h

für

Schul- und Privat-Unterricht

von

Dr. Friedrich Otto.

Prosaischer Theil.

L. g. sept.
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E n g l i s c h e s

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Prosaischer Theil.

München, 1822.

Druck und Verlag von C. A. Fleischmann.



V o r r e d e.

Unterrichtsbücher für junge Leute sollten sich mehr durch Reinheit des Inhaltes auszeichnen, damit Lehrer und Schüler bey dem Gebrauche derselben nicht so oft in Verlegenheit gesetzt würden. Sehr zu beachten wäre dieser wichtige

Punkt bey Büchern, deren Gebrauch täglich allgemeiner wird, wie z. B. bey Lehrbüchern neuerer Sprachen. Wie wenig aber bisher hierauf Rücksicht genommen wurde, beweisen namentlich die (sonst an sich sehr guten) Englischen Lesebücher. Dem Lernenden ein solches Buch in die Hände zu geben, bleibt, ungeachtet aller Vorsicht, die darin vorkommenden unpassenden Stellen zu übergehen, doch immer sehr mißlich, da des Schülers Neugierde die Vorsicht des Lehrers oft vereitelt. Ist dieses Letztere nun der Fall, so zieht sich auch der gewissenhafteste Lehrer, bey dem geringsten Anstoß, den vorzüglich Schülerinnen dann nehmen könnten, unverdient Vorwürfe und üble Nachrede zu, bloß, weil er hinsichtlich eines Lehrbuches keine bessere Wahl traf.

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Diese Nachtheile zu beseitigen, denen Schüler und Lehrer wegen Mangel an zweckmäßigen Handbüchern bisher nicht leicht entgehen konnten, erscheint nun eine Sammlung von Aufsätzen, welche, mit sorgfältiger Auswahl veran-
staltet, das Nützliche mit dem Schicklichen verein-
igend, ohne alles Bedenken jungen Leu-
ten zum Lesen überlassen, und besonders ange-
henden Lehrern der Englischen Sprache als ganz
geeignet für den ersten Unterricht empfohlen
werden kann. Entspricht dieselbe dem angegebe-
nen Zwecke, so bedarf es keiner weiteren Rechts-
fertigung, die schon vorhandene beträchtliche
Anzahl Englischer Lesebücher durch gegenwärti-
ges vergrößert zu haben.

Aus den oben angeführten Gründen mußten
von den hier aufgenommenen Stücken einige

Stellen ausgelassen werden, wodurch jedoch der
Zusammenhang im Ganzen nicht gestört wird.

München, den 22. Oktober 1821.

O t t o.

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I.

Letters of Lady Montague.

1.

To the Countess of — —.

Brunswick, Nov. 23. 1716.

I am just come to Brunswick, a very old town, but which has the advantage of being the capital of the Duke of Wolfenbuttle's dominions, a family (not to speak of its ancient honours) illustrious, by having its younger branch on the throne of England, and having given two Empresses to Germany. I have not forgot to drink your health here in Mum, which I think very well deserves its reputation of being the best in the world. This letter is the third I have writ to you during my journey, and I declare to you, that if you don't send me immediately a full and true account of all the changes and chances amongst our London acquaintance, I will not write you any description of Hanover, where I hope to be to-night, though I know you have more curiosity to hear of that place than any other.

To the Countess of B——.

Hanover, Nov. 25. 1716.

I received your Ladyship's letter, but the day before I left Vienna, though, by the date, I ought to have had it much sooner, but nothing was ever worse regulated than the post in most parts of Germany. I can assure you, the packet at Prague was behind my chaise, and in that manner conveyed to Dresden, so that the secrets of half the country were at my mercy, if I had had any curiosity for them. I would not longer delay my thanks for yours, though the number of my acquaintances here, and my duty of attending at court, leave me hardly any time to dispose of.

This town is neither large nor handsome; but the palace is capable of holding a much greater court than that of St. James's. The King has had the goodness to appoint us a lodging in one part of it, without which we should have been very ill accommodated; for the vast number of English, crowds the town so much, 'tis very good luck to get one sorry room in a miserable tavern. I dined to-day with the Portuguese Ambassador, who thinks himself very happy to have two wretched parlours in an inn. I have now made the tour of Germany, and cannot help observing a considerable difference between travelling here and in England. One sees none of those fine seats of noblemen, so common

amongst us, nor any thing like a country gentleman's house, though they have many situations perfectly fine. But the whole people are divided into absolute sovereignties, where all the riches and magnificence are at court, or into communities of merchants, such as Nuremberg and Frankfort, where they live always in town for the convenience of trade. The King's company of French comedians play here every night. They are very well dressed, and some of them not ill actors. His Majesty dines and sups constantly in public. The court is very numerous, and his affability and goodness make it one of the most agreeable places in the world.

Dear Madam,

Your, etc. etc.

3.

To Mr. Pope.

Vienna, Jan. 16. 1717.

I have not time to answer your letter, being in the hurry of preparing for my journey; but, I think, I ought to bid adieu to my friends with the same solemnity, as if I was going to mount a breach, at least, if I am to believe the information of the people here, who denounce all sorts of terrors to me; and, indeed, the weather is at present such, as very few ever set out in. I am threatened, at

the same time, with being frozen to death, buried in the snow, and taken by the Tartars, who ravage that part of Hungary I am to pass. 'Tis true, we shall have a considerable escorte, so that possibly I may be diverted with a new scene, by finding myself in the midst of a battle. How my adventures will conclude, I leave entirely to Providence; if comically, you shall hear of them. — Pray be so good as to tell Mr. — I have received his letter. Make him my adieus; if I live, I will answer it. The same compliment to my lady R —.

4.

To Mr. Pope.

Belgrade, Febr. 12. 1717.

I did verily intend to write you a long letter from Peterwaradin, where I expected to stay three or four days; but the bassa here was in such haste to see us, that he dispatched the courier back, which Mr. Wortley had sent to know the time he would send the convoy to meet us, without suffering him to pull off his boots. My letters were not thought important enough to stop our journey; and we left Peterwaradin the next day, being waited on by the chief officers of the garrison, and a considerable convoy of Germans and Rascians. The Emperor has several regiments of these people; but, to say the truth, they are rather plunderers than soldiers;

having no pay, and being obliged to furnish their own arms and horses; they rather look like vagabond gypsies, or stout beggars, than regular troops. I cannot forbear speaking a word of this race of creatures, who are very numerous all over Hungary. They have a patriarch of their own at Grand Cairo, and are really of the Greek church; but their extreme ignorance gives their priests occasion to impose several new notions upon them. These fellows letting their hair and beard grow inviolate, make exactly the figure of the Indian bramins. They are heirs-general to all the money of the laity; for which, in return, they give them formal passports signed and sealed for heaven; and the wives and children only inherit the house and cattle. In most other points they follow the Greek church. — — This little digression has interrupted my telling you we passed over the fields of Carlowitz, where the last great victory was obtained by prince Eugene over the Turks. The marks of that glorious bloody day are yet recent, the field being yet strewed with the skulls and carcases of unburied men, horses, and camels. I could not look, without horror, on such numbers of mangled human bodies, nor without reflecting on the injustice of war, that makes murder not only necessary but meritorious. Nothing seems to be a plainer proof of the irrationality of mankind, whatever fine claims we pretend to reason, than the rage with which we contest for a small spot of ground, when such vast parts of fruitful earth lie quite uninhabited.

'Tis true, custom has now made it unavoidable; but can there be a greater demonstration of want of reason, than a custom being firmly established, so plainly contrary to the interest of man in general? I am a good deal inclined to believe Mr. Hobbes, that the state of nature is a state of war; but thence I conclude human nature, not rational, if the word reason means common sense, as I suppose it does. I have a great many admirable arguments to support this reflection; I won't however trouble you with them, but return, in a plain style, to the history of my travels.

We were met at Betfko, a village in the midway between Belgrade and Peterwaradin, by an aga of the janizaries with a body of Turks, exceeding the Germans, by one hundred men, tho' the bassa had engaged to send exactly the same number. You may judge by this of their fears. I am really persuaded, that they hardly thought the odds of one hundred men set them even with the Germans; however, I was very uneasy till they were parted, fearing some quarrel might arise, notwithstanding the parole given. We came late to Belgrade, the deep snows making the ascent to it very difficult. It seems a strong city; fortified on the east side by the Danube; and on the south, by the river Save, and was formerly the barrier of Hungary. It was first taken by Solymán the Magnificent, and since, by the Emperor's forces, led by the Elector of Bavaria. The Emperor held it only two years, it being retaken by

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the grand vizier. It is now fortified with the utmost care and skill the Turks are capable of, and strengthened by a very numerous garrison of their bravest janizaries, commanded by a bassa seraskier, i. e. general, though this last expression is not very just; for, to say truth, the seraskier is commanded by the janizaries. These troops have an absolute authority here, and their conduct carries much more the aspect of rebellion, than the appearance of subordination. You may judge of this by the following story, which, at the same time, will give you an idea of the admirable intelligence of the governour of Peterwaradin, though so few hours distant. We were told by him at Peterwaradin, that the garrison and inhabitants of Belgrade were so weary of the war, they had killed their bassa about two months ago, in a mutiny, because he had suffered himself to be prevailed upon, by a bribe of five purses (five hundred pounds sterling) to give permission to the Tartars to ravage the German frontiers. We were very well pleased to hear of such favourable dispositions in the people: but when we came hither, we found the governour had been ill informed, and the real truth of the story to be this. The late bassa fell under the displeasure of his soldiers, for no other reason, but restraining their incursions on the Germans. They took it into their heads, from that mildness, that he had intelligence with the enemy, and sent such information to the Grand Signior at Adrianople; but, redress not coming quick enough from thence,

they assembled themselves in a tumultuous manner, and by force dragged their bassa before the cadi and mufti, and there demanded justice in a mutinous way; one crying out, Why he protected the infidels? Another, Why he squeezed them of their money? The bassa easily guessing their purpose, calmly replied to them, that they asked him too many questions, and that he had but one life, which must answer for all. They then immediately fell upon him with their scimitars (without waiting the sentence of their heads of the law) and in a few moments cut him in pieces. The present bassa has not dared to punish the murder; on the contrary, he affected to applaud the actors of it, as brave fellows, that knew to do themselves justice. He takes all pretences of throwing money among the garrison, and suffers them to make little excursions into Hungary, where they burn some poor Rascian houses.

You may imagine, I cannot be very easy in a town which is really under the government of an insolent soldiery. — We expected to be immediately dismissed, after a night's lodging here; but the bassa detains us till he receives orders from Adrianople, which may, possibly, be a month a-coming. In the mean time, we are lodged in one of the best houses, belonging to a very considerable man amongst them, and have a whole chamber of janizaries to guard us. My only diversion is the conversation of our host, Achmet Beg, a title something like that of count in Germany. His father was a

great bassa, and he has been educated in the most polite eastern learning, being perfectly skilled in the Arabic and Persian languages, and an extraordinary scribe, which they call Effendi. This accomplishment makes way to the greatest preferments; but he has had the good sense, to prefer an easy, quiet, secure life, to all the dangerous honours of the Porte. He sups with us every night, and drinks wine very freely. You cannot imagine how much he is delighted with the liberty of conversing with me. He has explained to me many pieces of Arabian poetry, which, I observe, are in numbers not unlike ours, generally of an alternate verse, and of a very musical sound. I am so much pleased with them, I really believe I should learn to read Arabic, if I was to stay here a few months. He has a very good library of their books of all kinds; and, as he tells me, spends the greatest part of his life there. I pass for a great scholar with him, by relating to him some of the Persian tales, which I find are genuine. At first he believed I understood Persian. He has wit, and is more polite than many Christian men of quality. I am very much entertained with him. — — He has had the curiosity to make one of our servants set him an alphabet of our letters, and can already write a good Roman hand. But these amusements do not hinder my wishing heartily to be out of this place; tho' the weather is colder than I believe it ever was, any where, but in Greenland. — — We have a very large stove constantly kept hot, and yet the windows of the room are

frozen on the inside. — God knows when I may have an opportunity of sending this letter: but I have written it, for the discharge of my own conscience; and you cannot now reproach me, that one of yours makes ten of mine. Adieu.

5.

To the Abbot — —.

Adrianople, April 1. 1717.

You see that I am very exact in keeping the promise you engaged me to make. I know not, however, whether your curiosity will be satisfied with the accounts I shall give you, though I can assure you, the desire I have to oblige you to the utmost of my power, has made me very diligent in my inquiries and observations. 'Tis certain we have but very imperfect accounts of the manners and religion of these people; this part of the world being seldom visited, but by merchants, who mind little but their own affairs; or travellers, who make too short a stay, to be able to report any thing exactly of their own knowledge. The Turks are too proud to converse familiarly with merchants, who can only pick up some confused informations, which are generally false, and can give no better account of the ways here, than a French refugee, lodging in a garret in Greek-street, could write of the court of England. The journey we have made

from Belgrade hither, cannot possibly be passed by any out of a public character. The desert woods of Servia, are the common refuge of thieves, who rob fifty in a company, so that we had need of all our guards to secure us; and the villages are so poor, that only force could extort from them necessary provisions. Indeed the janizaries had no mercy on their poverty, killing all the poultry and sheep they could find, without asking to whom they belonged; while the wretched owners durst not put in their claim, for fear of being beaten. When the bassas travel, 'tis yet worse. These oppressors are not content with eating all that is to be eaten belonging to the peasants; after they have crammed themselves and their numerous retinue, they have the impudence to exact what they call teeth-money, a contribution for the use of their teeth, worn with doing them the honour of devouring their meat. This is literally and exactly true, however extravagant it may seem; and such is the natural corruption of a military government, their religion not allowing of this barbarity, any more than ours does.

I had the advantage of lodging three weeks at Belgrad, with a principal effendi, that is to say, a scholar. This set of men are equally capable of preferments in the law or the church, these two sciences being cast into one, and a lawyer and a priest being the same word in the Turkish language. They are the only men really considerable in the

empire; all the profitable employments and church revenues are in their hands. The Grand Signior, though general heir to the people, never presumes to touch their lands or money, which go, in an uninterrupted succession, to their children. 'Tis true, they lose this privilege, by accepting a place at court, or the title of bassa; but there are few examples of such fools among them. You may easily judge of the power of these men, who have engrossed all the wealth of the empire. 'Tis they that are the real authors, though the soldiers are the actors of revolutions. They deposed the late Sultan Mustapha; and their power is so well known, that 'tis the Emperor's interest to flatter them.

You will expect I should say something to you of the antiquities of this country; but there are few remains of ancient Greece. We passed near the piece of an arch, which is commonly called Trajan's Gate, from a supposition, that he made it to shut up the passage over the mountains, between Sophia and Philippopolis. But I rather believe it the remains of some triumphal arch, though I could not see any inscription; for if that passage had been shut up, there are many others, that would serve for the march of an army; and, notwithstanding the story of Baldwin earl of Flanders, being overthrown in these straits after he won Constantinople, I don't fancy the Germans would find themselves stopped by them at this day. 'Tis true, the road is now made (with great industry) as commodious

as possible, for the march of the Turkish army; there is not one ditch or puddle between this place and Belgrade, that has not a large strong bridge of planks built over it; but the precipices are not so terrible as I had heard them represented. At these mountains we lay at the little village Kiskoi, wholly inhabited by Christians, as all the peasants of Bulgaria are. Their houses are nothing but little huts, raised of dirt baked in the sun; and they leave them, and fly into the mountains, some months before the march of the Turkish army, who would else entirely ruin them, by driving away their whole flocks. This precaution secures them in a sort of plenty; for such vast tracts of land lying in common, they have the liberty of sowing what they please, and are generally very industrious husbandmen. I drank here several sorts of delicious wine. The women dress themselves in a great variety of coloured glass beads, and are not ugly, but of a tawny complexion. I have now told you all that is worth telling you, and perhaps more, relating to my journey. When I am at Constantinople, I'll try to pick up some curiosities, and then you shall hear again from

Your's, etc.

To the Abbot — —.

Dover, Oct. 31. 1718.

I am willing to take your word for it, that I shall really oblige you, by letting you know, as soon as possible, my safe passage over the water. I arrived this morning at Dover, after being tossed a whole night in the packet-boat, in so violent a manner, that the master, considering the weakness of his vessel, thought it proper to remove the mail, and gave us notice of the danger. We called a little fishing-boat, which could hardly make up to us; while all the people on board us were crying to heaven. 'Tis hard to imagine one's self in a scene of greater horror than on such an occasion: and yet, shall I own it to you? though I was not at all willing to be drowned, I could not forbear being entertained at the double distress of a fellow-passenger. She was an English lady that I had met at Calais, who desired me to let her go over with me in my cabin. She had bought a fine point-head, which she was contriving to conceal from the custom house officers. When the wind grew high, and our little vessel cracked, she fell very heartily to her prayers, and thought wholly of her soul. When it seemed to abate, she returned to the worldly care of her head-dress, and addressed herself to me — — „Dear Madam, will you „take care of this point? if it should be „lost! — — Ah, Lord, we shall all be lost! —

„— Lord have mercy on my soul! — —
„Pray, Madam, take care of this head-
„drefs.“ This easy transition from her soul to her
head-dress, and the alternate agonies that both
gave her, made it hard to determine which she
thought of greatest value. But, however, the scene
was not so diverting, but I was glad to get rid of
it, and be thrown into the little boat, though with
some hazard of breaking my neck. It brought me
safe hither; and I cannot help looking with partial
eyes on my native land. That partiality was cer-
tainly given us by nature, to prevent rambling, the
effect of an ambitious thirst after knowledge, which
we are not formed to enjoy. All we get by it, is
a fruitless desire of mixing the different pleasures
and conveniences which are given to the different
parts of the world, and cannot meet in any one of
them. After having read all that is to be found
in the languages I am mistress of, and having de-
cayed my sight by midnight studies, I envy the easy
peace of mind of a ruddy milk-maid, who un-
disturbed by doubt, hears the sermon, with humility,
every Sunday, not having confounded the sentiments
of natural duty in her head by the vain inquiries
of the schools, who may be more learned, yet, after
all, must remain as ignorant. And, after having
seen part of Asia and Africa, and almost made the
tour of Europe, I think the honest English squire
more happy, who verily believes the Greek wines
less delicious than March beer; that the African
fruits have not so fine a flavour as golden pippins;

that the Beca figwas of Italy are not so well tasted as a rump of beef, and that, in short, there is no perfect enjoyment of this life out of Old England. I pray God I may think so for the rest of my life; and, since I must be contented with our scanty allowance of daylight, that I may forget the enlivening sun of Constantinople.

I am, etc. etc.

II.

Robertson's History of America, Book II.**The Discovery of America.**

Among the foreigners whom the fame of the discoveries made by the Portuguese had allured into their service, was Christopher Colon or Columbus, a subject of the republic of Genoa. Neither the time nor place of his birth are known with certainty; but he was descended of an honourable family, though reduced to indigence by various misfortunes. His ancestors having betaken themselves for subsistence to a sea-faring life, Columbus discovered, in his early youth, the peculiar character and talents which mark out a man for that profession. His parents, instead of thwarting this original propensity of his mind, seem to have encouraged and confirmed it, by the education which they gave him. After acquiring some knowledge of the Latin tongue, the only language in which science was taught at that time, he was instructed in geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and the art of drawing. To these he applied with such ardour and predilection, on ac-

count of their connection with navigation, his favourite object, that he advanced with rapid proficiency in the study of them. Thus qualified, he went to sea at the age of fourteen (1461), and began his career on that element which conducted him to so much glory. His early voyages were to those ports in the Mediterranean which his countrymen the Genoese frequented. This being a sphere too narrow for his active mind, he made an excursion to the northern seas, and visited the coasts of Iceland, to which the English and other nations had begun to resort on account of its fishery. As navigation, in every direction, was now become enterprising, he proceeded beyond that island, the Thule of the ancients, and advanced several degrees within the polar circle. Having satisfied his curiosity by a voyage which tended more to enlarge his knowledge of naval affairs, than to improve his fortune, he entered into the service of a famous sea-captain, of his own name and family. This man commanded a small squadron, fitted out at his own expence, and by cruising sometimes against the Mahometans, sometimes against the Venetians, the rivals of his country in trade, had acquired both wealth and reputation. With him Columbus continued for several years, no less distinguished for his courage, than for his experience as a sailor. At length, in an obstinate engagement, off the coast of Portugal, with some Venetian caravels, returning richly laden from the Low Countries, the vessel on board which he served took fire, together with one

of the enemy's ships, to which it was fast grappled. In this dreadful extremity his intrepidity and presence of mind did not forsake him. He threw himself into the sea, laid hold of a floating oar, and by the support of it, and his dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, though above two leagues distant, and saved a life reserved for great undertakings.

As soon as he recovered strength for the journey, he repaired to Lisbon, where many of his countrymen were settled. They soon conceived such a favourable opinion of his merit, as well as talents, that they warmly solicited him to remain in that kingdom, where his naval skill and experience could not fail of rendering him conspicuous. To every adventurer, animated either with curiosity to visit new countries, or with ambition to distinguish himself, the Portuguese service was at that time extremely inviting. Columbus listened with a favourable ear to the advice of his friends, and having gained the esteem of a Portuguese lady, whom he married, fixed his residence in Lisbon. This alliance, instead of detaching him from a sea-faring life, contributed to enlarge the sphere of his naval knowledge, and to excite a desire of extending it still farther. His wife was a daughter of Bartholomew Perestrelo, one of the captains employed by prince Henry in his early navigations, and who, under his protection, had discovered and planted the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira. Columbus got possession of the

journals and charts of this experienced navigator, and from them he learned the course which the Portuguese had held in making their discoveries, as well as the various circumstances which guided or encouraged them in their attempts. The study of these soothed and inflamed his favourite passion; and while he contemplated the maps, and read the descriptions of the new countries which Pêrestrello had seen, his impatience to visit them became irresistible. In order to indulge it, he made a voyage to Madeira, and continued during several years to trade with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

By the experience which Columbus acquired, during such a variety of voyages to almost every part of the globe with which, at that time, any intercourse was carried on by sea, he was now become one of the most skilful navigators in Europe. But, not satisfied with that praise, his ambition aimed at something more. The successful progress of the Portuguese navigators had awakened a spirit of curiosity and emulation, which set every man of science upon examining all the circumstances that led to the discoveries which they had made, or that afforded a prospect of succeeding in any new and bolder undertaking. The mind of Columbus, naturally inquisitive, capable of deep reflection, and turned to speculations of this kind, was so often

employed in revolving the principles upon which the Portuguese had founded their schemes of discovery, and the mode in which they had carried them on, that he gradually began to form an idea of improving upon their plan, and of accomplishing discoveries which hitherto they had attempted in vain.

To find out a passage by sea to the East Indies, was the great object in view at that period. From the time that the Portuguese doubled Cap de Verd, this was the point at which they aimed in all their navigations, and, in comparison with it, all their discoveries in Africa appeared inconsiderable. The fertility and riches of India had been known for many ages; its spices and other valuable commodities were in high request throughout Europe, and the vast wealth of the Venetians arising from their having engrossed this trade, had raised the envy of all nations. But how intent soever the Portuguese were upon discovering a new route to those desirable regions, they searched for it only by steering towards the south, in hopes of arriving at India, by turning to the east, after they had sailed round the farther extremity of Africa. This course was still unknown, and, even if discovered, was of such immense length, that a voyage from Europe to India must have appeared an undertaking extremely arduous, and of very uncertain issue. More than half a century had been employed in advancing from Cap Non to the equator; a much

longer space of time might elapse before the more extensive navigation from that to India could be accomplished. These reflections upon the uncertainty, the danger and tediousness of the course which de Portuguese were pursuing, naturally led Columbus to consider wheter a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies might not be found out. After revolving long and seriously every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory as well as practice of navigation, after comparing attentively the observations of modern pilots with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded, that by sailing directly towards the west, across the Atlantic ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the vast continent of India, must infallibly be discovered.

Principles and arguments of various kinds, and derived from different sources, induced him to adopt this opinion, seemingly as chimerical as it was new and extraordinary. The spherical figure of the earth was known, and its magnitude ascertained with some degree of accuracy. From this it was evident, that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, formed but a small portion of the teraqueous globe. It was suitable to our ideas concerning the wisdom and beneficence of the Author of Nature, to believe that the vast space, still unexplored, was not covered entirely by a waste unprofitable ocean, but occupied by countries fit for the habitation of man. It appeared likewise extre-

mely probable, that the continent, on this side of the globe, was balanced by a proportional quantity of land in the other hemisphere. These conclusions concerning the existence of another continent, drawn from the figure and structure of the globe, were confirmed by the observations and conjectures of modern navigators. A Portuguese pilot, having stretched farther to the west than was usual at that time, took up a piece of timber artificially carved, floating upon the sea; and as it was driven towards him by a westerly wind, he concluded that it came from some unknown land, situated in that quarter. Columbus's brother-in-law had found, to the west of the Madeira isles, a piece of timber fashioned in the same manner, and brought by the same wind; and had seen likewise canes of an enormous size floating upon the waves, which resembled those described by Ptolemy as productions peculiar to the East Indies. After a course of westerly winds, trees torn up by the roots, were often driven upon the coasts of the Azores, and at one time the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, resembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa, were cast ashore there.

As the force of this united evidence, arising from theoretical principles and practical observations, led Columbus to expect the discovery of new countries in the Western Ocean, other reasons induced him to believe that these must be connected with the continent of India. Though the ancients had hardly ever penetrated into India farther than the banks

of the Ganges, yet some Greek authors had ventured to describe the provinces beyond that river. As men are prone, and at liberty, to magnify what is remote or unknown, they represented them as regions of an immense extent. Ctesias affirmed that India was as large as all the rest of Asia. Onesicritus, whom Pliny the naturalist follows, contended that it was equal to a third part of the habitable earth. Nearchus asserted, that it would take four months to march in a straight line from one extremity of it to the other. The journal of Marco Polo, who had proceeded towards the East far beyond the limits to which any European had ever advanced, seemed to confirm these exaggerated accounts of the ancients. By his magnificent descriptions of the kingdoms of Cathay and Cipango, and of many other countries, the names of which were unknown in Europe, India appeared to be a region of vast extent. From these accounts, which, however defective, were the most accurate that the people of Europe had at that period received, with respect to the remote parts of the East, Columbus drew a just conclusion. He contended, that, in proportion as the continent of India stretched out towards the East, it must, in consequence of the spherical figure of the earth, approach nearer to the islands which had lately been discovered to the west of Africa; that the distance from the one to the other, was probably not very considerable; and that the most direct, as well as shortest course, to the remote regions of the East, was to be found by sailing due west. This notion

concerning the vicinity of India to the western parts of our continent, was countenanced by some eminent writers among the ancients, the sanction of whose authority was necessary, in that age, to procure a favourable reception to any tenet. Aristotle thought it probable that the Columns of Hercules, or Straits of Gibraltar, were not far removed from the East Indies, and that there might be a communication by sea between them. Seneca, in terms still more explicit, affirms, that, with a fair wind, one might sail from Spain to India in a few days. The famous Atlantic island described by Plato, and supposed by many to be a real country, beyond which a vast unknown continent was situated, is represented by him as lying at no great distance from Spain. After weighing all these particulars, Columbus, in whose character the modesty and diffidence of true genius was united with the ardent enthusiasm of a projector, did not rest with such absolute assurance either upon his own arguments, or upon the authority of the ancients, as not to consult such of his contemporaries as were capable of comprehending the nature of the evidence which he produced in support of his opinion. As early as the year one thousand four hundred and seventy four, he communicated his ideas concerning the probability of discovering new countries, by sailing westwards, to Paul, a physician of Florence, eminent for his knowledge of cosmography, and who, from the learning as well as candour which he discovers in his reply, appears to have been well intitled to

the confidence which Columbus placed in him. He warmly approved of the plan, suggested several facts in confirmation of it, and encouraged Columbus to persevere in an undertaking so laudable, and which must redound so much to the honour of his country, and the benefit of Europe.

To a mind less capable of forming and of executing great designs than that of Columbus, all those reasonings, and observations, and authorities, would have served only as the foundation of some plausible and fruitless theory, which might have furnished matter for ingenious discourse, or fanciful conjecture. But with his sanguine and enterprising temper, speculation led directly to action. Fully satisfied himself with respect to the truth of his system, he was impatient to bring it to the test of experiment, and to set out upon a voyage of discovery. The first step towards this was to secure the patronage of some of the considerable powers in Europe, capable of undertaking such an enterprise. As long absence had not extinguished the affection which he bore to his native country, he wished that it should reap the fruits of his labours and invention. With this view, he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, and making his country the first tender of his service, offered to sail under the banners of the republic, in quest of the new regions which he expected to discover. But Columbus had resided for so many years in foreign parts, that his countrymen were unacquainted with

his abilities and character; and, though a maritime people, they were so little accustomed to distant voyages, that they could form no just idea of the principles on which he founded his hopes of success. They inconsiderately rejected his proposal, as the dream of a chimerical projector, and lost for ever the opportunity of restoring their commonwealth to its ancient splendour.

Having performed what was due to his country, Columbus was so little discouraged by the repulse which he had received, that, instead of relinquishing his undertaking, he pursued it with fresh ardour. He made his next overture to John II. King of Portugal, in whose dominions he had been long established, and whom he considered, on that account, as having the second claim to his service. Here every circumstance seemed to promise him a more favourable reception. He applied to a monarch of an enterprising genius, no incompetent judge in naval affairs, and proud of patronising every attempt to discover new countries. His subjects were the most experienced navigators in Europe, and the least apt to be intimidated either by the novelty or boldness of any maritime expedition. In Portugal, the professional skill of Columbus, as well as his personal good qualities, were thoroughly known; and as the former rendered it probable that his scheme was not altogether chimerical, the latter exempted him from the suspicion of any sinister intention in proposing it. Accordingly, the King listened

to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, and two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. As in Genoa, ignorance had opposed and disappointed Columbus; in Lisbon, he had to combat with prejudice, an enemy no less formidable. The persons, according to whose decision his scheme was to be adopted or rejected, had been the chief directors of the Portuguese navigations, and had advised to search for a passage to india, by steering a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended as shorter and more certain. They could not, therefore, approve of his proposal, without submitting to the double mortification, of condemning their own theory, and of acknowledging his superior sagacity. After teasing him with captious questions, and starting innumerable objections with a view of betraying him into such a particular explanation of his system, as might draw from him a full discovery of its nature, they deferred passing a final judgment with respect to it. In the mean time, they conspired to rob him of the honour and advantages which he expected from the success of his scheme, advising the King to dispatch a vessel, secretly, in order to attempt the proposed discovery, by following exactly the course which Columbus seemed to point out. John, forgetting on this occasion the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counsel. But the pilot, chosen to execute Columbus's plan, had neither

the genius, nor the fortitude of its author. Contrary winds arose, no sight of approaching land appeared, his courage failed, and he returned to Lisbon, execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

Upon discovering this dishonourable transaction, Columbus felt the indignation natural to an ingenuous mind, and in the warmth of his resentment determined to break off all intercourse with a nation capable of such flagrant treachery. He instantly quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain towards the close of the year one thousand four hundred and eighty four. As he was now at liberty to court the protection of any patron, whom he could engage to approve of his plan, and to carry it into execution, he resolved to propose it in person to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. But, as he had already experienced the uncertain issue of applications to kings and ministers, he took the precaution of sending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas, in order that he might negotiate, at the same time, with Henry VII. who was reputed one of the most sagacious as well as opulent princes in Europe.

It was not without reason that Columbus entertained doubts and fears with respect to the reception of his proposals in the Spanish court. Spain was, at that juncture, engaged in a dangerous war

with Granada, the last of the Moorish kingdoms. The wary and suspicious temper of Ferdinand was not formed to relish bold or uncommon designs. Isabella, though more generous and enterprising, was under the influence of her husband in all her actions. The Spaniards had hitherto made no efforts to extend navigation beyond its ancient limits, and had beheld the amazing progress of discovery among their neighbours the Portuguese, without one attempt to imitate or to rival them. The war with the Infidels afforded an ample field, to the national activity and love of glory. Under circumstances so unfavourable, it was impossible for Columbus to make rapid progress with a nation, naturally slow and dilatory in forming all its resolutions. His character, however, was admirably adapted to that of the people, whose confidence and protection he solicited. He was grave, though courteous in his deportment; circumspect in his words and actions; irreproachable in his morals; and exemplary in his attention to all the duties and functions of religion. By qualities so respectable, he not only gained many private friends, but acquired such general esteem, that, notwithstanding the plainness of his appearance, suitable to the mediocrity of his fortune, he was not considered as a mere adventurer, to whom indigence had suggested a visionary project, but was received as a person to whose propositions serious attention was due.

Ferdinand and Isabella, though fully occupied by their operations against the Moors, paid so much

regard to Columbus, as to remit the consideration of his plan to the queen's confessor, Ferdinand de Talavera. He consulted such of his countrymen, as were supposed best qualified to decide with respect to a subject of this kind. But true science had, hitherto, made so little progress in Spain, that the pretended philosophers, selected to judge in a matter of such moment, did not comprehend the first principles upon which Columbus founded his conjectures and hopes. Some of them, from mistaken notions concerning the dimensions of the globe, contended that a voyage to those remote parts of the east, which Columbus expected to discover, could not be performed in less than three years. Others concluded, that either he would find the ocean to be of infinite extent, according to the opinion of some ancient philosophers; or, if he should persist in steering towards the west beyond a certain point, that the convex figure of the globe would prevent his return, and that he must inevitably perish, in the vain attempt, to open a communication between the two opposite hemispheres, which nature had for ever disjoined. Even without deigning to enter into any particular discussion, many rejected the scheme in general, upon the credit of a maxim, under which the ignorant and unenterprising shelter themselves in every age. „That it is presumptuous in any person, to suppose that he alone possesses knowledge superior to all the rest of mankind united.“ They maintained, that if there were really any such countries as Columbus

pretended, they could not have remained so long concealed, nor would the wisdom and sagacity of former ages have left the glory of this invention to an obscure Genoese pilot.

It required all Columbus's patience and address to negotiate with men capable of advancing such strange propositions. He had to contend not only with the obstinacy of ignorance, but with what is still more intractable, the pride of false knowledge. After innumerable conferences, and wasting five years in fruitless endeavours to inform and to satisfy judges so little capable of deciding with propriety, Talavera, at last, made such an unfavourable report to Ferdinand and Isabella, as induced them to acquaint Columbus, that until the war with the Moors should be brought to a period, it would be imprudent to engage in any new and expensive enterprise.

Whatever care was taken to soften the harshness of this declaration, Columbus considered it as a final rejection of his proposals. But happily for mankind, that superiority of genius, which is capable of forming great and uncommon designs, is usually accompanied with an ardent enthusiasm, which can neither be cooled by delays, nor damped by disappointment. Columbus was of this sanguine temper. Though he felt deeply the cruel blow given to his hopes, and retired immediately from a court, where he had been amused so long with vain expectations,

his confidence in the justness of his own system did not diminish, and his impatience to demonstrate the truth of it by an actual experiment became greater than ever. Having courted the protection of sovereign states without success, he applied, next, to persons of inferior rank, and addressed successively the dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi, who, though subjects, were possessed of power and opulence more than equal to the enterprise which he projected. His negotiations with them proved as fruitless as those in which he had been hitherto engaged; for these noblemen were either as little convinced by Columbus's arguments as their superiors, or they were afraid of alarming the jealousy, and offending the pride of Ferdinand, by countenancing a scheme which he had rejected.

Amid the painful sensations occasioned by such a succession of disappointments, Columbus had to sustain the additional distress, of having received no accounts of his brother, whom he had sent to the court of England. In his voyage to that country, Bartholomew had been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of pirates, who having stripped him of every thing, detained him a prisoner for several years. At length, he made his escape, and arrived in London, but in such extreme indigence, that he was obliged to employ himself during a considerable time, in drawing and selling maps, in order to pick up as much money as would purchase a decent dress, in which he might venture to appear

at court. He then laid before the king the proposals with which he had been entrusted by his brother, and, notwithstanding Henry's excessive caution and parsimony, which rendered him averse to new or expensive undertakings, he received Columbus's overtures, with more approbation than any monarch to whom they had hitherto been presented.

Meanwhile, Columbus being unacquainted with his brother's fate, and having now no prospect of encouragement in Spain, resolved to visit the court of England in person, in hopes of meeting with a more favourable reception there. He had already made preparations for this purpose, and taken measures for the disposal of his children during his absence, when Juan Perez, the guardian of the monastery of Rabida, near Palos, in which they had been educated, earnestly solicited him to defer his journey for a short time. Perez was a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with Queen Isabella, to whom he was known personally. He was warmly attached to Columbus, with whose abilities as well as integrity he had many opportunities of being acquainted. Prompted by curiosity or by friendship, he entered upon an accurate examination of his system, in conjunction with a physician settled in the neighbourhood, who was a considerable proficient in mathematical knowledge. This investigation satisfied them so thoroughly, with respect to the solidity of the principles on which Columbus founded his opinion, and the probability

of success in executing the plan which he proposed, that Perez, in order to prevent his country from being deprived of the glory and benefit, which must accrue to the patrons of such a grand enterprise, ventured to write to Isabella, conjuring her to consider the matter anew, with the attention which it merited.

Moved by the representations of a person whom she respected, Isabella desired Perez to repair immediately to the village of Santa Fé; in which, on account of the siege of Granada, the court resided at that time, that she might confer with him upon this important subject. The first effect of their interview was a gracious invitation of Columbus back to court, accompanied with the present of a small sum to equip him for the journey. As there was now a certain prospect, that the war with the Moors would speedily be brought to an happy issue by the reduction of Granada, which would leave the nation at liberty to engage in new undertakings; this, as well as the mark of royal favour, with which Columbus had been lately honoured, encouraged his friends to appear with greater confidence than formerly in support of his scheme. The chief of these, Alonso de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castile, and Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon, whose meritorious zeal in promoting this great design entitles their names to an honourable place in history, in-

roduced Columbus to many persons of high rank, and interested them warmly in his behalf.

But it was not an easy matter to inspire Ferdinand with favourable sentiments. He still regarded Columbus's project as extravagant and chimerical, and in order to render the efforts of his partizans ineffectual, he had the address to employ in this new negociation with him some of the persons who had formerly pronounced his scheme to be impracticable. To their astonishment, Columbus appeared before them with the same confident hopes of success as formerly, and insisted upon the same high recompence. He proposed that a small fleet should be fitted out, under his command, to attempt the discovery, and demanded to be appointed hereditary admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands which he should discover, and to have the tenth of the profits arising from them settled irrevocably upon himself and his descendants. At the same time, he offered to advance the eighth part of the sum necessary for accomplishing his design, on condition that he should be entitled to a proportional share of benefit from the adventure. If the enterprize should totally miscarry, he made no stipulation for any reward or emolument whatever. Instead of viewing this conduct as the clearest evidence of his full persuasion with respect to the truth of his own system, or being struck with that magnanimity, which, after so many delays and repulses, could stoop to nothing inferior to its original claims, the persons

with whom Columbus treated, began meanly to calculate the expence of the expedition, and the value of the reward which he demanded. The expence, moderate as it was, they represented to be too great for Spain, in the present exhausted state of its finances. They contended, that the honours and emoluments claimed by Columbus, were exorbitant, even if he should perform the utmost of what he had promised; and if all his sanguine hopes should prove illusive, such vast concessions to an adventurer would be deemed not only inconsiderate, but ridiculous. In this imposing garb of caution and prudence, their opinion appeared so plausible, and was so warmly supported by Ferdinand, that Isabella declined giving any countenance to Columbus, and abruptly broke off the negociation with him which she had begun.

This was more mortifying to Columbus than all the disappointments which he had hitherto met with. The invitation to court from Isabella, like an unexpected ray of light, had opened such prospects of success, as encouraged him to hope that his labours were at an end; but now darkness and uncertainty returned, and his mind, firm as it was, could hardly support the shock of such an unforeseen reverse. He withdrew in deep anguish from court, with an intention of prosecuting his voyage to England, as his last resource.

About that time Granada surrendered, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in triumphal pomp, took pos-

session of a city, the reduction of which extirpated a foreign power from the heart of their dominions, and rendered them masters of all the provinces, extending from the bottom of the Pyrenes to the frontiers of Portugal. As the flow of spirits which accompanies success elevates the mind, and renders it enterprising, Quintanilla and Santangel, the vigilant and discerning patrons of Columbus, took advantage of this favourable situation, in order to make one effort more in behalf of their friend. They addressed themselves to Isabella, and, after expressing some surprise, that she, who had always been the munificent patroness of generous undertakings, should hesitate so long to countenance the most splendid scheme that had ever been proposed to any monarch; they represented to her, that Columbus was a man of a sound understanding and virtuous character, well qualified, by his experience in navigation, as well as his knowledge of geometry, to form just ideas with respect to the structure of the globe and the situation of its various regions; that, by offering to risk his own life and fortune in the execution of his scheme, he gave the most satisfactory evidence both of his integrity and hope of success; that the sum requisite for equipping such an armament as he demanded was inconsiderable, and the advantages which might accrue from his undertaking were immense; that he demanded no recompence for his invention and labour, but what was to arise from the countries which he should discover; that, as it was worthy of her

magnanimity to make this noble attempt to extend the sphere of human knowledge, and to open an intercourse with regions hitherto unknown, so it would afford the highest satisfaction to her piety and zeal, after reestablishing the Christian faith in those provinces of Spain from which it had been long banished, to discover a new world, to which she might communicate the light and blessings of divine truth; that if now she did not decide instantly, the opportunity would be irretrievably lost; that Columbus was on his way to foreign countries, where some prince, more fortunate and adventurous, would close with his proposals, and Spain would for ever bewail the fatal timidity which had excluded her from the glory and advantages that she had once in her power to have enjoyed.

These forcible arguments, urged by persons of such authority, and at a juncture so well chosen, produced the desired effect. They dispelled all Isabella's doubts and fears; she ordered Columbus to be instantly recalled, declared her resolution of employing him on his own terms, and regretting the low state of her finances, generously offered to pledge her own jewels, in order to raise as much money as might be needed in making preparations for the voyage. Santangel, in a transport of gratitude, kissed the queen's hand, and in order to save her from having recourse to such a mortifying expedient for procuring money, engaged to advance immediately the sum that was requisite.

Columbus had proceeded some leagues on his journey, when the messenger from Isabella overtook him. Upon receiving an account of the unexpected revolution in his favour, he returned directly to Santa Fé, though some remainder of diffidence still mingled itself with his joy. But the cordial reception which he met with from Isabella, together with the near prospect of setting out upon that voyage which had so long been the object of his thoughts and wishes, soon effaced the remembrance of all that he had suffered in Spain, during eight tedious years of solicitation and suspense. The negociation now went forward with facility and dispatch, and a treaty or capitulation with Columbus was signed on the seventeenth of April, one thousand four hundred and ninety two. The chief articles of it were, 1) Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents, which should be discovered by his industry; and stipulated, that he and his heirs for ever should enjoy this office, with the same powers and prerogatives which belonged to the high admiral of Castile, within the limits of his jurisdiction. 2) They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents which he should discover; but if, for the better administration of affairs, it should hereafter be necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries, they authorised Columbus to name three persons, of whom they would chuse one for that office; and the dignity of viceroy,

with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus. 3) They granted to Columbus and his heirs for ever the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries which he should discover. 4) They declared, that if any controversy or law-suit shall arise with respect to any mercantile transaction in the countries which should be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him. 5) They permitted Columbus to advance one eighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he should discover, and intitled him, in return, to an eighth part of the profit.

Though the name of Ferdinand appears conjoined with that of Isabella in this transaction, his distrust of Columbus was still so violent, that he refused to take any part in the enterprise, as king of Aragon. As the whole expence of the expedition was to be defrayed by the crown of Castile, Isabella reserved for her subjects of that kingdom an exclusive right to all the benefits which might redound from its success.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Isabella, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations for the voyage, endeavoured to make some reparation to Columbus for the time which he had

lost in fruitless solicitation. By the twelfth of May, all that depended upon her was adjusted; and Columbus waited on the king and queen, in order to receive their final instructions. Every thing respecting the destination and conduct of the voyage, they committed implicitly to the disposal of his prudence. But, that they might avoid giving any just cause of offence to the king of Portugal, they strictly enjoined him not to approach near to the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Guinea, nor in any of the other countries to which the Portuguese claimed right as discoverers. Isabella had ordered the ships, of which Columbus was to take the command, to be fitted out in the port of Palos, a small maritime town in the province of Andalusia. As the guardian Juan Perez, to whom Columbus had already been so much indebted, resided in the neighbourhood of this place, he, by the influence of that good ecclesiastic, as well as by his own connection with the inhabitants, not only raised among them what he wanted of the sum that he was bound by treaty to advance, but engaged several of them to accompany him in the voyage. The chief of these associates were three brothers of the name of Pinzon, of considerable wealth and of great experience in naval affairs, who were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in the expedition.

But, after all the efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament was not suitable either to the dignity of the nation by which it was equipped,

or to the importance of the service for which it was destined. It consisted of three vessels. The largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of Santa Maria, out of respect for the Blessed Virgin, whom he honoured with singular devotion. Of the second, called the Pinta, Martin Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis pilot. The third, named the Nigna, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon. These two were light vessels, hardly superior in burden or force to large boats. This squadron, if it merits that name, was victualed for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, mostly sailors, together with a few adventurers who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him. Though the expence of the undertaking was one of the circumstances which chiefly alarmed the court of Spain, and retarded so long the negociation with Columbus, the sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed four thousand pounds.

As the art of ship-building in the fifteenth century was extremely rude, and the bulk of vessels was accommodated to the short and easy voyages along the coast which they were accustomed to perform, it is a proof of the courage as well as enterprising genius of Columbus, that he ventured, with a fleet so unfit for a distant navigation, to explore unknown seas, where he had no chart to

guide him, no knowledge of the tides and currents, and no experience of the dangers to which he might be exposed. His eagerness to accomplish the great design which had so long engrossed his thoughts, made him overlook or disregard every circumstance that would have intimidated a mind less adventurous. He pushed forward the preparations with such ardour, and was seconded so effectually by the persons to whom Isabella committed the superintendence of this business, that every thing was soon in readiness for the voyage. But as Columbus was deeply impressed with sentiments of religion, he would not set out upon an expedition so arduous, and of which one great object was to extend the knowledge of the Christian faith, without imploring publickly the guidance and protection of Heaven. With this view, he, together with all the persons under his command, marched in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida. After confessing their sins, and obtaining absolution, they received the holy sacrament from the hands of the guardian, who joined his prayers to theirs for the success of an enterprise which he had so zealously patronised.

Next morning, being Friday the third day of August, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety two, Columbus set sail, a little before sunrise, in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, who sent up their supplications to Heaven for the prosperous issue of the voyage, which they wished, rather than

expected. Columbus steered directly for the Canary Islands, and arrived there without any occurrence that would have deserved notice on any other occasion. But, in a voyage of such expectation and importance, every circumstance was the object of intention. The rudder of the Pinta broke loose, the day after she left the harbour, and that accident alarmed the crew, no less superstitious than unskilful, as a certain omen of the unfortunate destiny of the expedition. Even in the short run to the Canaries, the ships were found to be so crazy and ill appointed, as to be very improper for a navigation which was expected to be both long and dangerous. Columbus refitted them, however, to the best of his power, and having supplied himself with fresh provisions, he took his departure from Gomera, one of the most westerly of the Canary islands, on the sixth day of September.

Here the voyage of discovery may properly be said to begin; for Columbus holding his course due west, left immediately the usual track of navigation, and stretched into unfrequented and unknown seas. The first day, as it was very calm, he made but little way; but on the second, he lost sight of the Canaries; and many of the sailors, dejected already and dismayed, when they contemplated the boldness of the undertaking, began to beat their breasts, and to shed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with assurance of success, and the prospect of vast wealth,

in those opulent regions whither he was conducting them. This early discovery of the spirit of his followers taught Columbus, that he must prepare to struggle, not only with unavoidable difficulties which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with such as were likely to arise from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command; and he perceived that the art of governing the minds of men would be no less requisite for accomplishing the discoveries which he had in view, than naval skill and undaunted courage. Happily for himself, and for the country by which he was employed, he joined to the ardent temper and inventive genius of a projector, virtues of another species, which are rarely united with them. He possessed a thorough knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance in executing any plan, the perfect government of his own passions, and the talent of acquiring an ascendant over those of other men. All these qualities, which formed him for command, were accompanied with that superior knowledge of his profession, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. To unskilful Spanish sailors, accustomed only to coasting voyages in the Mediterranean, the maritime science of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years experience, improved by an acquaintance with all the inventions of the Portuguese, appeared immense. As soon as they put to sea, he regulated every thing by his sole authority; he superintended the execution of every order; and al-

lowing himself only a few hours for sleep, he was at all other times upon deck. As his course lay through seas which had not formerly been visited, the sounding-line, or instruments for observation, were continually in his hands. After the example of the Portuguese discoverers, he attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fishes, of seaweeds, and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence, with a minute exactness, in the journal which he kept. As the length of the voyage could not fail of alarming sailors habituated only to short excursions, Columbus endeavoured to conceal from them the real progress which they made. With this view, though they run eighteen leagues on the second day after they left Gomera, he gave out that they had advanced only fifteen, and he uniformly employed the same artifice of reckoning short during the whole voyage. By the fourteenth of September, the fleet was above two hundred leagues to the west of the Canary Isles, at a greater distance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time. There they were struck with an appearance no less astonishing than new. They observed, that the magnetic needle, in their compasses, did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. This appearance, which is now familiar, though it still remains one of the mysteries of nature, into the cause of which the sagacity of man hath not been able to penetrate,

filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundless unknown ocean, far from the usual course of navigation; nature itself seemed to be altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, invented a reason for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears, or silenced their murmurs.

He still continued to steer due west, nearly in the same latitude with the Canary islands. In this course he came within the sphere of the trade wind, which blows invariably from east to west between the tropics, and a few degrees beyond them. He advanced before this steady gale with such uniform rapidity, that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail. When about four hundred leagues to the west of the Canaries, he found the sea so covered with weeds, that it resembled a meadow of vast extent; and in some places they were so thick, as to retard the motion of the vessels. This strange appearance occasioned new alarm and disquiet. The sailors imagined that they were now arrived at the utmost boundary of the navigable ocean; that these floating weeds would obstruct their farther progress, and concealed dangerous rocks, or some large tract of land, which had sunk, they knew not how, in that place. Columbus endeavoured to persuade them, that what had alarmed, ought rather to have encouraged them, and was to be considered as a sign of

approaching land. At the same time, a brisk gale arose, and carried them forward. Several birds were seen hovering about the ship, and directed their flight towards the west. The desponding crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain fresh hopes.

Upon the first of October they were, according to the admiral's reckoning, seven hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the Canaries; but lest his men should be intimidated by the prodigious length of the navigation, he gave out that they had proceeded only five hundred and eighty-four leagues; and, fortunately for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships, had skill sufficient to correct this error, and discover the deceit. They had now been above three weeks at sea; they had proceeded far beyond what former navigators had attempted or deemed possible; all their prognostics of discovery, drawn from the flight of birds and other circumstances, had proved fallacious; the appearances of land, with which their own credulity or the artifice of their commander had from time to time flattered and amused them, had been altogether illusive, and their prospect of success seemed now to be as distant as ever. These reflections occurred often to men, who had no other object or occupation, than to reason and discourse concerning the intention and circumstances of their expedition. They made impression, at first, upon the ignorant and timid, and extending, by degrees, to

such as were better informed or more resolute, the contagion spread at length from ship to ship. From secret whispers or murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. They taxed their sovereign with inconsiderate credulity, in paying such regard to the vain promises and rash conjectures of an indigent foreigner, as to hazard the lives of so many of her own subjects, in prosecuting a chimerical scheme. They affirmed that they had fully performed their duty, by venturing so far in an unknown and hopeless course, and could incur no blame for refusing to follow, any longer, a desperate adventurer to certain destruction. They contended, that it was necessary to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy vessels were still in a condition to keep the sea, but expressed their fears that the attempt would prove vain, as the wind, which had hitherto been so favourable to their course, must render it impossible to sail in the opposite direction. All agreed that Columbus should be compelled by force to adopt a measure on which their common safety depended. Some of the more audacious proposed, as the most expeditious and certain method for getting rid at once of his remonstrances, to throw him into the sea, being persuaded that, upon their return to Spain, the death of an unsuccessful projector would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity.

Columbus was fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed, with great concern,

the fatal operation of ignorance and of fear in producing disaffection among his crew, and saw that it was now ready to burst out into open mutiny. He retained, however, perfect presence of mind. He affected to seem ignorant of their machinations. Notwithstanding the agitation and solicitude of his own mind, he appeared with a cheerful countenance, like a man satisfied with the progress which he had made, and confident of success. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to soothe his men. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition or avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occasions, he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if, by their dastardly behaviour, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt the Spanish name above that of every other nation. Even with seditious sailors, the words of a man whom they had been accustomed to reverence, were weighty and persuasive, and not only restrained them from those violent excesses, which they meditated, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for some time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain, and excited hope in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks, making towards the south-west. Columbus, in imitation of the Portuguese navigators, who had been

guided, in several of their discoveries by the motion of birds, altered his course from due west towards that quarter whither they pointed their flight. But, after holding on for several days in this new direction, without any better success than formerly, having seen no object, during thirty days, but the sea and the sky, the hopes of his companions subsided faster than they had risen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, appeared in every countenance. All sense of subordination was lost: the officers, who had hitherto concurred with Columbus in opinion, and supported his authority, now took part with the private men; they assembled tumultuously on the deck, expostulated with their commander, mingled threats with their expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about and to return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourse to any of his former arts, which having been tried so often, had lost their effect; and that it was impossible to rekindle any zeal for the success of the expedition among men, in whose breasts fear had extinguished every generous sentiment. He saw that it was no less vain to think of employing either gentle or severe measures, to quell a mutiny so general and so violent. It was necessary, on all these accounts, to soothe passions which he could no longer command, and to give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He promised solemnly to his men that he would comply with their request, provided they would accompany

him, and obey his commands for three days longer, and if, during that time, land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprize, and direct his course towards Spain,

Enraged as the sailors were, and impatient to turn their faces again towards their native country, this proposition did not appear to them unreasonable. Nor did Columbus hazard much in confining himself to a term so short. The presages of discovering land were now so numerous and promising, that he deemed them infallible. For some days the sounding line reached the bottom, and the soil which it brought up indicated land to be at no great distance. The flocks of birds increased, and were composed not only of sea fowl, but of such land birds as could not be supposed to fly far from the shore. The crew of the Pinta observed a cane floating, which seemed to have been newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors aboard the Nigna took up the branch of a tree with red berries, perfectly fresh. The clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance; the air was more mild and warm, and, during night, the wind became unequal and variable. From all these symptoms, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the eleventh of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie by, keeping strict watch, lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval

of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had been so long the object of their wishes.

About two hours before midnight, Columbus standing on the forecastle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutierrez, a page of the queen's wardrobe. Gutierrez perceived it, and calling to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight, the joyful sound of land, land, was heard from the Pinta, which kept always ahead of the other ships. But, having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was now become slow of belief, and waited, in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience, for the return of day. As soon as morning *) dawned, all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen about two leagues to the north, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the Pinta instantly began *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to Heaven was followed by

*) Friday, Oct. 12.

an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and had so often obstructed the prosecution of his well-concerted plan; and passing, in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man, they had so lately reviled and threatened, to be a person inspired by Heaven with sagacity and fortitude more than human, in order to accomplish a design, so far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages.

III.

Goldsmith's History of England.

CHAPTER 1.

From the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the
Abdication of the Romans.

Britain was but very little known to the rest of the world before the time of the Romans. The coasts opposite Gaul were frequented by merchants who traded thither for such commodities as the natives were able to produce, and who, after a time, possessed themselves of all the maritime places where they had at first been permitted to reside. Finding the country fertile, and commodiously situated for trade, they settled upon the sea-side, and introduced the practice of agriculture. But the inland inhabitants of the country, who considered themselves as the lawful possessors of the soil, avoided all correspondence with men whom they viewed as intruders upon their property.

The inland inhabitants are represented as extremely numerous, living in cottages thatched with

straw, and feeding large herds of cattle. They lived mostly upon milk, or flesh procured by the chase. What clothes they wore to cover their bodies, were usually the skins of beasts . . . Their hair, which was long, flowed down upon their backs and shoulders, while their beards were kept close shaven, except upon the upper lip, where it was suffered to grow. The dress of savage nations is every where nearly alike, being calculated rather to inspire terror, than to excite respect.

As to their government, it consisted of several small principalities, under different leaders; and this seems to be the earliest mode of dominion, with which mankind are acquainted, and is deduced from the natural privileges of paternal authority. Upon great and imminent dangers, a commander in chief was chosen by common consent in a general assembly; and to him was committed the conduct of the general interest in peace or war.

Their forces consisted chiefly of foot, and yet they could bring a considerable number of horse into the field upon great occasions. They likewise used chariots in battle, which, with short scythes fastened to the ends of the axletrees, inflicted terrible wounds, spreading horror and devastation wherever they drove. Nor were the warriors who conducting them unemployed: these darted their javelins against the enemy, ran along the beam, leaped on the ground, resumed their seat, stopped,

or turned their horses at full speed, and sometimes cunningly retreated, to draw the enemy into confusion.

The religion of the Britons was one of the most considerable parts of their government; and the Druids, who were the guardians of it, possessed great authority among them. No species of superstition was ever more terrible than theirs; besides the severe penalties which they were permitted to inflict in this world, they inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls, and thus extended their authority as far as the fears of their votaries. They sacrificed human victims, which they burned in large wicker idols, made so capacious as to contain a multitude of persons at once, who were thus consumed together. To these rites, they added the austerity of their manners and the simplicity of their lives. They lived in woods, caves, and hollow trees; their food was acorns and berries, and their drink water; by these arts they were not only respected but almost adored by the people, whose manners took a tincture from the discipline of their teachers. Their lives were simple, but they were marked with cruelty and fierceness; their courage was great, but neither dignified by mercy nor perseverance.

The Britons had long remained in this rude but independent state, when Caesar, having victoriously over-run Gaul, and willing still farther to extend his fame, determined upon the conquest of

a country that seemed to promise an easy triumph. Accordingly he set sail for Britain about midnight, and the next morning arrived on the coast near Dover, where he saw the rocks and cliffs covered with armed men to oppose his landing.

The Britons had chosen Cassibelaunus for their commander in chief; but the petty princes under his command, either from suspicion or jealousy, threw off their allegiance. Some of them fled with their forces into the internal parts of the kingdom, others submitted to Caesar, till at length Cassibelaunus himself, thus weakened, resolved upon making what terms he was able, while he yet had power to keep the field. The conditions offered by Caesar and accepted by him were, that he should send to the continent double the number of hostages at first demanded, and that he should acknowledge subjection to the Romans. Caesar, however, was obliged to return once more to compel the Britons to complete their stipulated treaty.

The next emperor, Augustus, formed a design of visiting Britain, but was diverted from it by an unexpected revolt of the Pannonians. Tiberius, wisely judging the empire already too extensive, made no attempt upon Britain. From that time the natives began to improve in all the arts which contribute to the advancement of human nature. The wild extravagancies of Caligula, by which he threatened Britain with an invasion, served rather to ex-

pose him to ridicule than the island to danger. At length the Romans, in the reign of Claudius, began to think seriously of reducing them under their dominion. The expedition for this purpose was conducted in the beginning by Plautius and other commanders, with that success which usually attended the Roman arms.

Caractacus was the first who seemed willing, by a vigorous effort, to rescue his country, and though with inferior forces, continued, for above nine years, to oppose and harass the Romans; till at length he was totally routed, and taken prisoner by Ostorius Scapula, who sent him in triumph to Rome. While Caractacus was leading through Rome, he appeared no ways dejected at the amazing concourse of spectators that were gathered upon this occasion, but casting his eyes on the splendours that surrounded him, „Alas,“ cried he, „how is it possible that a people possessed of such magnificence at home, could envy me an humble cottage in Britain!“ The emperor was affected with the British hero's misfortunes, and won by his address. He ordered him to be unchained upon the spot, and set at liberty with the rest of the captives.

The cruel treatment of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, drove the Britons once more into open rebellion. Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, at his death had bequeathed one-half of his dominions to the Romans, and the other to his daughters, thus hop-

ing, by the sacrifice of a part, to secure the rest in his family: but it had a different effect; for the Roman procurator immediately took possession of the whole; and when Boadicea, the widow of the deceased, attempted to remonstrate, he ordered her to be scourged like a slave . . . These outrages were sufficient to produce a revolt throughout the island. The Iceni, as being the most deeply interested in the quarrel, were the first to take arms; all the other states soon followed the example: and Boadicea, a woman of great beauty and masculine spirit, was appointed to head the common forces, which amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand fighting men. These, exasperated by their wrongs, attacked several of the Roman settlements and colonies with success. Paulinus who commanded the Roman forces, hastened to relieve London, which was already a flourishing colony; but found on his arrival that it would be requisite for the general safety to abandon that place to the merciless fury of the enemy. London was soon therefore reduced to ashes: such of the inhabitants as remained in it were massacred; and the Romans, with all other strangers, to the amount of seventy thousand, were cruelly put to the sword. Flushed with these successes, the Britons boldly came to the place where Paulinus awaited their arrival, posted in a very advantageous manner with a body of ten thousand men. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Boadicea herself appeared in a chariot with her two daughters, and harangued her army with masculine

intrepidity; but the irregular and undisciplined bravery of her troops was unable to resist the cool intrepidity of the Romans. They were routed with great slaughter, eighty thousand perished in the field, and an infinite number were made prisoners, while Boadicea herself, fearing to fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her life by poison.

The general who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island, was Julius Agricola, who governed it during the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and distinguished himself as well by his courage as humanity. For several years after this time a profound peace seems to have prevailed in Britain, and little mention is made of the affairs of the island by any historian. At length, however, Rome that had for ages given laws to nations, and diffused slavery and oppression over the known world, began to sink under her own magnificence. Mankind as if by a general consent, rose up to vindicate their natural freedom; almost every nation asserting that independence which they had been long so unjustly deprived of.

During these struggles, the British youth were frequently drawn away into Gaul, to give ineffectual succour to the various contenders for the empire, who failing in every attempt, only left the name of tyrants behind them. In the mean time, as the Roman forces decreased in Britain, the Picts and

Scots continued still more boldly to infest the northern parts: and crossing the friths, which the Romans could not guard in little wicker boats covered with leather, filled the country wherever they came with slaughter and consternation.

The Romans, therefore finding it impossible to stand their ground in Britain, in the reign of the Emperor Valentinian took their last leave of the island, after having been masters of it near four hundred years, and now left the natives to the choice of their own government and kings. They gave them the best instructions the calamitous times would permit, for exercising their arms and repairing their ramparts, and helped them to erect a new wall of stone built by the Emperor Severus across the island.

CHAPTER 2.

The Saxons.

The Britons being now left to themselves, considered their new liberties as their greatest calamity. The Picts and Scots uniting together, began to look upon Britain as their own, and attacked with success, the northern wall which the Romans had built to keep off their incursions. Having thus opened to themselves a passage, they ravaged the whole country with impunity, while the Britons sought precarious shelter in their woods and mountains.

It was in this deplorable and enfeebled state that the Britons had recourse to the Saxons, a brave people, who for their strength and valour were formidable to all the German nations around them. They were restless and bold, considered war as their trade; and were, in consequence taught to consider victory as a doubtful advantage, but courage as a certain good. A nation, however entirely addicted to war, has seldom wanted the imputation of cruelty, as those terrors which are opposed without fear, are often inflicted without regret. The Saxons are represented as a very cruel nation: but we must remember that their enemies have drawn the picture.

It was no disagreeable circumstance to these ambitious people to be invited into a country upon which they had for ages before been forming designs. In consequence, therefore, of Vortigern's solemn invitation, who was then king of Britain, they arrived with fifteen hundred men, under the command of Hengist and Horfa, who were brothers, and landed on the isle of Thanet. There, being joined by the British forces, they boldly marched against the Picts and Scots, who had advanced as far as Lincolnshire, and soon gained a complete victory over them.

The Saxons, however, being sensible of the fertility of the country to which they came, and the barrenness of that which they had left behind, in-

vited over great numbers of their countrymen to become sharers in their new expedition. Accordingly, they received a fresh supply of five thousand men, who passed over in seventeen vessels, and soon made a permanent establishment in the island.

After the death of Hengist, several other German tribes, allured by the success of their countrymen, went over in great numbers. A body of Saxons, under the conduct of Aella and his three sons, had some time before laid the foundation of the kingdom of the South Saxons, though not without great opposition and bloodshed. This new kingdom included Surrey, Sussex, and the New Forest; and extended to the frontiers of Kent.

Another tribe of Saxons, under the command of Cerdic and his son Kenric, landed in the West, and from thence took the name of West Saxons. These met with a very vigorous opposition from the natives, but being reinforced from Germany, and assisted by their countrymen on the island, they routed the Britons; and although retarded in their progress by the celebrated King Arthur, they had strength enough to keep possession of the conquests they had already made. Cerdic, therefore, with his son Kenric, established the third Saxon kingdom in the island, namely, that of the West Saxons, including the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the isle of Wight.

It was in opposing this Saxon invader, that the celebrated prince Arthur acquired his fame. This prince is of such obscure origin, that some authors suppose him to be the son of King Ambrosius, and others only his nephew: others again affirm that he was a Cornish prince, and son of Gurlois, King of that province. However this be, it is certain he was a commander of great valour, and if courage alone could have repaired the miserable state of the Britons, his might have been effectual. According to the most authentic historians, he is said to have worsted the Saxons in twelve successive battles. In one of these, namely that fought at Caerbadon, in Berks, it is asserted that he killed no less than four hundred and forty of the enemy with his own hand. But the Saxons were too numerous and powerful to be extirpated by the desultory efforts of single valour; so that a peace was the only fruit of his victories. The enemy, therefore, still gained ground; and this prince, in the decline of his life, had the mortification, from some domestic troubles of his own, to be a patient spectator of their encroachments . . .

In the mean time, while the Saxons were thus gaining ground in the West, their countrymen were not less active in other parts of the island. Adventurers still continuing to pour over from Germany, one body of them, under the command of Uffa, seized upon the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and gave their commander the title of

King of the East Angles, which was the fourth Saxon kingdom founded in Britain. Another body of these adventurers formed a kingdom under the title of East Saxony, or Essex, comprehending Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. This kingdom, which was dismembered from that of Kent, formed the fifth Saxon principality founded in Britain. The kingdom of Mercia was the sixth which was established by these fierce invaders, comprehending all the middle counties, from the banks of the Severn to the frontiers of the two last named kingdoms.

The seventh and last kingdom which they obtained was that of Northumberland, one of the most powerful and extensive of them all. This was formed from the union of two smaller Saxon kingdoms, the one called Bernicia, containing the present county of Northumberland, and the bishoprick of Durham; the subjects of the other, called the Deiri, extending themselves over Lancashire and Yorkshire. These kingdoms were united in the person of Ethelfrid, King of Northumberland, by the expulsion of Edwin, his brother in law, from the kingdom of the Deiri, and the seizure of his dominions. In this manner, seven kingdoms were established in Britain, which have been since well known by the name of the Saxon Heptarchy.

The Saxons being thus established in all the desirable parts of the island, and having no longer the Britons to contend with, began to quarrel among

themselves. A country divided into a number of petty independent principalities, must ever be subject to contention, as jealousy and ambition have more frequent incentives to operate. After a series, therefore, of battles, treasons, and stratagems, all these petty principalities fell under the power of Egbert, King of Wessex, whose merits deserved dominion, and whose prudence secured his conquests. By him all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy were united under the common jurisdiction; and to give splendour to his authority, a general council of the clergy and laity was summoned at Winchester, where he was solemnly crowned King of England, by which name the united kingdom was thenceforward called. Thus, about four hundred years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain, all the petty settlements were united into one great state, and nothing offered but prospects of peace, security, and increasing refinement.

It was about this period that St. Gregory undertook to send missionaries among the Saxons, to convert them to Christianity. It is said, that before his elevation to the papal chair, he chanced one day to pass through the slave-market at Rome, and perceiving some children of great beauty who were set up for sale, he enquired about their country, and finding they were English Pagans, he is said to have cried out, in the Latin language, *Non Angli, sed Angeli forent, si essent Christiani*. They would not be English, but Angels, had they been

but Christians. From that time he was struck with an ardent desire to convert that unenlightened nation, and ordered a monk, named Augustine, and others of the same fraternity, to undertake a mission into Britain.

This pious monk, upon his first landing in the isle of Thanet, sent one of his interpreters to Ethelbert, the Kentish King, declaring he was come from Rome with offers of eternal salvation. The king immediately ordered them to be furnished with all necessaries, and even visited them, though without declaring himself as yet in their favour. Augustine, however, encouraged by this favourable reception, proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the gospel. The king openly espoused the Christian religion, while his example wrought so successfully on his subjects, that numbers of them came voluntarily to be baptized, their missionary loudly declaring against any coercive means towards their conversion. In this manner the other kingdoms, one after the other, embraced the faith.

CHAPTER 3.

The invasion of the Danes.

Peace and unanimity had been scarcely established in England, when a mighty swarm of those nations called Danes, who had possessed the countries bordering on the Baltic, began to level their fury

against England. A small body of them at first landed on the coasts, with a view to learn the state of the country; and having committed some small depredations, fled to their ships for safety. About seven years after this first attempt they made a descent upon the kingdom of Northumberland, where they pillaged a monastery; but their fleet being shattered by a storm, they were defeated by the inhabitants, and put to the sword. It was not till about five years after the accession of Egbert, that their invasions became truly formidable. From that time they continued with unceasing ferocity, until the whole kingdom was reduced to a state of the most distressful bondage. Though often repulsed, they always obtained their end, of spoiling the country, and carrying the plunder away. It was their method to avoid coming, if possible, to a general engagement; but scattering themselves over the face of the country, they carried away, indiscriminately, as well the inhabitants themselves, as all their moveable possessions.

At length, however, they resolved upon making a settlement in the country, and landing on the isle of Thanet, stationed themselves there. In this place, they kept their ground, notwithstanding a bloody victory gained over them by Ethelwolf. The reign of Ethelhald, his successor, was of no long continuance; however, in so short a space, he crowded a number of vices sufficient to render his name odious to posterity.

This prince was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, a brave commander, but whose valour was insufficient to repress the Danish incursions. In these exploits, he was always assisted by his younger brother, Alfred, afterwards surnamed the Great, who sacrificed all private resentment to the public good, having been deprived, by the king, of a large patrimony. It was during Ethelred's reign, that the Danes, penetrating into Mercia, took up their winter quarters at Nottingham; from whence the king, attempting to dislodge them, received a wound in the battle, of which he died, leaving his brother Alfred, the inheritance of a kingdom, that was now reduced to the brink of ruin.

The Danes had already subdued Northumberland and East Anglia, and had penetrated into the very heart of Wessex. The Mercians were united against Alfred; the dependence upon the other provinces of the empire was but precarious: the lands lay uncultivated through fear of continual incursions; and all the churches and monasteries were burned to the ground. In this terrible situation of affairs, the wisdom and virtues of one man alone were found sufficient to bring back happiness, security, and order. Alfred seemed born not only to defend his bleeding country, but even to adorn humanity. He had given very early instances of those great virtues which afterwards gave splendour to his reign; and was anointed by Pope Leo, as future king, when he was sent by his father for his education to Rome.

On his return, he became every day more the object of his father's fond affections; but his education was so much neglected, that he had attained the age of twelve before he was made acquainted with the lowest elements of literature; when hearing some Saxon poems read, which recounted the praise of heroes, his mind was roused, not only to obtain a similitude of glory, but also to be able to transmit that glory to posterity. Encouraged by the queen his mother, and assisted by a penetrating genius, he soon learned to read these compositions, and proceeded from thence to a knowledge of Latin authors, who directed his taste, and rectified his ambition.

He was scarcely come to the throne when he was obliged to oppose the Danes, who had seized Wilton, and were ravaging the country round. He fell upon them with a few troops, and fought a desperate battle, though with some disadvantage. But it was not in the power of misfortune to abate the king's diligence, though it repressed his power to do good. He was in a little time enabled to hazard another engagement: so that the enemy, dreading his courage and activity, proposed terms of peace, which he did not think proper to refuse. They, by this treaty, agreed to relinquish the kingdom; but, instead of complying with their engagements, they only removed from one place to another, burning and destroying wherever they came.

Alfred, thus opposed to an enemy whom no stationary force could resist, nor treaties bind, found himself unable to repel the efforts of those ravagers, who from all quarters invaded him. New swarms of the enemy arrived every year upon the coast, and fresh invasions were still projected. Some of his subjects, therefore, left their country, and retired into Wales, or fled to the continent; others submitted to the conquerors, and purchased their lives by their freedom. In this universal defection, Alfred vainly attempted to remind them of the duty they owed their country and their king; but, finding his remonstrances ineffectual, he was obliged to give way to the wretched necessity of the times. Accordingly relinquishing the ensigns of his dignity, and dismissing his servants, he dressed himself in the habit of a peasant, and lived, for some time, in the house of an herdsman, who had been intrusted with the care of his cattle. In this manner, though abandoned by the world, and fearing an enemy in every quarter, still resolved to continue in his country, to catch the slightest occasions for bringing it yet relief. In his solitary retreat, which was in the county of Somerset, at the confluence of the rivers Parret and Thone, he amused himself with music, and supported his humble lot with the hopes of better fortune. It is said, that one day, being commanded by the herdsman's wife, who was ignorant of his quality, to take care of some cakes which were baking by the fire, he happened to let them burn, for which neglect she severely upbraided him.

Previous to his retirement, Alfred had concerted measures for assembling a few trusty friends, whenever an opportunity should offer of annoying the enemy, who were now in possession of all the country. This chosen band, still faithful to their monarch, took shelter in the forests and marshes of Somerset, and from thence made occasional irruptions upon straggling parties of the enemy. Their success in this rapacious and dreary method of living, encouraged many more to join their society, till, at length sufficiently augmented, they repaired to their monarch, who had, by that time, been reduced by famine to the last extremity.

Meanwhile Ubba, the chief of the Danish commanders, carried terror over the whole land, and now ravaged the country of Wales without opposition. The only place where he found resistance on his return, was from the castle of Kenwith, into which the earl of Devonshire had retired with a small body of troops. This gallant soldier finding himself unable to sustain a siege, and knowing the danger of surrendering to a perfidious enemy, was resolved by one desperate effort to sally out, and force his way through the besiegers, sword in hand. The proposal was embraced by all his followers, while the Danes, secure in their numbers and in their contempt of the enemy, were not only routed with great slaughter, but Ubba, their general, was slain.

This victory once more restored courage to the dispirited Saxons; and Alfred, taking advantage of their favourable disposition, prepared to animate them to a vigorous exertion of their superiority. He soon, therefore, apprised them of the place of his retreat, and instructed them to be ready, with all their strength, at a minute's warning. But, as none was found in whom he could confide, and who would undertake to give intelligence of the forces and posture of the enemy, he undertook this dangerous task himself. In the simple dress of a shepherd, with a harp in his hand, he entered the Danish camp, tried all his musical arts to please, and was so much admired, that he was brought even into the presence of Guthrum the Danish prince, with whom he remained some days. There he remarked the supine security of the Danes, their contempt of the English, their negligence in foraging and plundering, and their dissolute wasting of such ill-gotten booty. Having made his observations, he returned to his retreat, and detached proper emissaries among his subjects, appointed them to meet him in arms in the forest of Selwood, a summons which they gladly obeyed.

It was against the most unguarded quarter of the enemy that Alfred made his most violent attack, while the Danes, surprised to behold an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdued, made but a faint resistance. Notwithstanding the superiority of their number, they were routed with

great slaughter; and though such as escaped fled for refuge into a fortified camp in the neighbourhood, being unprovided for a siege, in less than a fortnight they were compelled to surrender at discretion. By the conqueror's permission, those who did not choose to embrace Christianity embarked for Flanders, under the command of one of their generals, called Hastings. Guthrum, their prince, became a convert, with thirty of his nobles; and the king himself answered for him at the font.

Alfred had now attained the meridian of glory; he possessed a greater extent of glory than had ever been enjoyed by any of his predecessors; the Kings of Wales did him homage for their possessions; the Northumbrians received a King of his appointing; and no enemy appeared to give him the least apprehensions, or excite an alarm. In this state of prosperity and profound tranquillity, which lasted twelve years, Alfred was diligently employed in cultivating the arts of peace, and in repairing the damages which the kingdom had sustained by war. He is said to have drawn up a body of laws; and his care for the encouragement of learning did not a little tend to improve the morals and restrain the barbarous habits of the people. When he came to the throne, he found the English sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism, proceeding from the continued disorders of the government, and from the ravages of the Danes. He himself complains, that, on his accession, he knew not one person south of

the Thames who could so much as interpret the Latin service. To remedy this deficiency, he invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he founded, or at least re-established the University of Oxford, and endowed it with many privileges; and he gave, in his own example, the strongest incentives to study. He usually divided his time into three equal portions; one was given to sleep and the refectation of his body, diet and exercise; another to the dispatch of business; and the third to study and devotion. He made a considerable progress in the different studies of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, architecture, and geometry. He was an excellent historian; he understood music; he was acknowledged to be the best Saxon poet of the age, and left many works behind him, some of which remain to this day. To give a character of this prince would only be, to sum up those qualities which constitute perfection. Even virtues seemingly opposite, were happily blended in his disposition: persevering, yet flexible; moderate, yet enterprising; just, yet merciful; stern in command, yet gentle in conversation. Nature also, as if desirous that such admirable qualities of mind should be set off to the greatest advantage, had bestowed on him all bodily accomplishments, vigour, dignity, and an engaging open countenance...

During the reign of Ethelred the Second, the old and terrible enemies, the Danes, were daily gaining ground. The inexperience of Ethelred ap-

peared to give a favourable opportunity for renewing their depredations; and, accordingly, they landed on several parts of the coast, spreading their usual terror and devastation. As they lived indiscriminately among the English, a resolution was taken for a general massacre; and Ethelred, by a policy incident to weak princes, embraced the cruel resolution of putting them all to the sword. This plot was carried on with such secrecy, that it was executed in one day, and all the Danes in England were destroyed without mercy. But this massacre, so perfidious in contriving, and so cruel in the execution, only prepared the way for greater calamities.

While the English were yet congratulating each other upon their deliverance from an inveterate enemy, Sweyn, King of Denmark, who had been informed of their treacherous cruelties, appeared off the western coasts with a large fleet, meditating slaughter, and furious with revenge. Ethelred was obliged to fly into Normandy, and the whole country thus came under the power of Sweyn, his victorious rival.

Canute, afterwards surnamed the Great, succeeded Sweyn, as King of Denmark, and also as general of the Danish forces in England. The contest between him and Edmund Ironside, successor to Ethelred, was managed with great obstinacy and perseverance; the first battle that was fought appeared undecisive; a second followed, in which the

Danes were victorious; but Edmund still having interest enough to bring a third army into the field, the Danish and English nobility, equally harassed by these convulsions, obliged their kings to come to a compromise, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty. Canute reserved to himself the northern parts of the kingdom, the southern parts were left to Edmund; but this prince being murdered about a month after the treaty, by his two chamberlains, at Oxford, Canute was left in peaceable possession of the whole kingdom.

Canute is represented by some historians as one of the first characters in those barbarous ages. The piety of the latter part of his life, and the resolute valour of the former, were topics that filled the mouths of his courtiers with flattery and praise. They even affected to think his power uncontrollable, and that all things would be obedient to his command. Canute, sensible of their adulation, is said to have taken the following method to reprove them: — He ordered his chair to be set on the sea-shore while the tide was coming in, and commanded the sea to retire. „Thou art under my dominion,” cried he; „the land upon which I sit is mine; I charge thee, therefore, to approach no farther, nor dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign.” He feigned to sit some time in expectation of submission, till the waves began to surround him: then turning to his courtiers, he observed that the titles of Lord and Master belonged only to him whom both earth

and seas were ready to obey. Thus feared and respected, he lived many years, honoured with the surname of Great for his power, but deserving it still more for his virtues. He died at Shaftsbury, in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving behind him three sons, Sweyn, Harold and Hardicanute. Sweyn was crowned King of Norway; Hardicanute was put in possession of Denmark; and Harold succeeded his father on the English throne.

To Harold succeeded his brother, Hardicanute, whose title was readily acknowledged both by the Danes and the English; and, upon his arrival from the continent, he was received with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy; but his violent and unjust government was of short duration: he died two years after his accession, in consequence of excess at the marriage of a Danish lord.

The disorders of the Danish monarchs once more induced the English to place a monarch of the Saxon line upon the throne: and accordingly, Edward, surnamed the Confessor, was by the general consent, crowned King; and having long groaned under a foreign yoke, they now set no bounds to their joy, at finding the line of their ancient monarchs restored. As he had been bred in the Norman court, he shewed, in every instance, a predilection for the customs, laws, and even the natives of that country . . . Being wholly engrossed during the continuance of a long reign, with the visions of

superstition, he was at last surprised by sickness, which brought him to his end, on the 5th of January, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign.

Harold, the son of a popular nobleman, whose name was Godwin, and whose intrigues and virtues seemed to give a right to his pretensions, ascended the throne without any opposition. But neither his valour, his justice, nor his popularity, was able to secure him from the misfortunes attendant upon an ill-grounded title. His pretensions were opposed by William, duke of Normandy, who insisted that the crown of right belonged to him, it being bequeathed to him by Edward the Confessor.

William, owed a part of his greatness to his birth, but still more to his own personal merit. His body was vigorous, his mind capacious and noble, and his courage not to be repressed by apparent danger. Upon coming to his dukedom of Normandy, though yet very young, he on all sides opposed his rebellious subjects, and repressed foreign invaders, while his valour and conduct prevailed in every action. The tranquillity which he had thus established in his dominions, induced him to extend his views: and some overtures made him by Edward the Confessor, in the latter part of his reign, who was wavering in the choice of a successor, inflamed his ambition with a desire of succeeding to the English throne. The pope himself was not behind the rest in favouring

his pretensions; and either influenced by the apparent justice of his claims, or by the hopes of extending the authority of the church, he immediately pronounced Harold an usurper. With such favourable incentives, William soon found himself at the head of a chosen army of sixty thousand men, all equipped in the most warlike and splendid manner. It was in the beginning of summer, that he embarked this powerful body on board a fleet of three hundred sail; and, after some small opposition from the weather, landed at Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex, with resolute tranquillity.

Harold who seemed resolved to defend his right to the crown, and retain that sovereignty which he had received from the people who had only a right to bestow it, was now returning, flushed with conquest from defeating the Norwegians, who had invaded the kingdom, with all the forces he had employed in that expedition, and all he could invite or collect in the country through which he passed. His army was composed of active and valiant troops, in high spirits, strongly attached to their king, and eager to engage. On the other hand, the army of William consisted of the flower of all the continent, and had long been inured to danger. The men of Bretagne, Bologne, Flanders, Poitou, Maine, Orleans, France, and Normandy, were all voluntarily united under his command. England never before, nor ever since, saw two such armies, drawn up to dispute its crown. The day before the battle, William

sent an offer to Harold to decide the quarrel between them by single combat, and thus to spare the blood of thousands; but Harold refused, and said, he would leave it to the God of armies to determine. Both armies, therefore, that night pitched in sight of each other, expecting the dawning of the next day with impatience. The English passed the night in songs and feasting, the Normans in devotion and prayer.

The next morning at seven, as soon as day appeared, both armies were drawn up in array against each other. Harold appeared in the centre of his forces, leading on his army on foot, that his men might be more encouraged, by seeing their king exposed to an equality of danger. William fought on horseback, leading on his army that moved at once, singing the song of Roland, one of the famous chiefs of their country. The Normans began the fight with their cross-bows, which, at first, galled and surprised the English, and as their ranks were close, their arrows did great execution. But soon they came to closer fight, and the English, with their bills, hewed down their adversaries with great slaughter. Confusion was spreading among the ranks, when William, who found himself on the brink of destruction, hastened with a select band to the relief of his forces. His presence restored the suspense of battle; he was seen in every place, endeavouring to pierce the ranks of the enemy, and had three horses slain under him. At length; perceiving that

the English line continued impenetrable, he pretended to give ground, which, as he expected, drew the enemy from their ranks, and he was instantly ready to take advantage of their disorder. Upon a signal given, the Normans immediately returned to the charge with greater fury than before, broke the English troops, and pursued them to a rising ground. It was in this extremity, that Harold was seen flying from rank to rank, rallying and inspiring his troops with vigour; and though he had toiled all day, till near night-fall, in the front of his Kentishmen, yet he still seemed unabated in force or courage, keeping his men to the post of honour. Once more, therefore, the victory seemed to turn against the Normans, and they fell in great number, so that the fierceness and obstinacy of this memorable battle was often renewed by the courage of the leaders, whenever that of the soldiers began to slacken. Fortune, at length, determined a victory that valour was unable to decide. Harold making a furious onset at the head of his troops against the Norman heavy-armed infantry, was shot into the brains by an arrow; and his two valiant brothers, fighting by his side, shared the same fate. He fell with his sword in his hand, amidst heaps of slain; and after the battle the royal corpse could hardly be distinguished among the dead.

This was the end of the Saxon monarchy in England, which had continued for more than six hundred years.

C H A P T E R 4.

William the Conqueror.

A. D. 1066—1087.

As soon as William passed the Thames, at Wallingfort, Stigand, the primate, made submissions to him in the name of the clergy; and before he came within sight of the city, all the chief nobility came into his camp, and declared an intention of yielding to his authority. William was glad of being thus peaceably put in possession of a throne which several of his predecessors had not gained without repeated victories.

But in order to give his invasion all the sanction possible, he was crowned at Westminster by the archbishop of York, and took the oath usual in the times of the Saxon and Danish Kings, which was, to protect and defend the church, to observe the laws of the realm, and to govern the people with impartiality. Having thus, by a mixture of vigour and lenity, brought the English to an entire submission, he resolved to return to the continent, there to enjoy the congratulation of his ancient subjects; but his absence in England produced the most fatal effects. His officers, being no longer controlled by his justice, thought this a fit opportunity for extortion; while the English, no longer awed by his presence, thought it the happiest occasion for vindicating their freedom.

The English had entered into a conspiracy to cut off their invaders, and fixed the day for their intended massacre, which was to be Ash-Wednesday, during the time of divine service, when all the Normans would be unarmed as penitents, according to the discipline of the times. But William's return quickly disconcerted all their schemes: and from that time he began to lose all confidence in his English subjects, and to regard them as inveterate and irreconcilable enemies. Having already raised a number of fortresses in the kingdom, to check the tumultuous efforts of a discontented multitude; he determined to treat them as a conquered nation, to indulge his own avarice, and that of his followers, by numerous confiscations, and to secure his power by humbling all who were able to make any resistance. He proceeded to confiscate all the estates of the English gentry, and to grant them liberally to his Norman followers. Thus all the ancient and honourable families were reduced to beggary, and the English found themselves entirely excluded from every honour or preferment; and to keep the clergy as much as possible in his interests, he appointed none but his own countrymen to the most considerable church dignities, and even displaced Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, upon some frivolous pretences.

William having crushed several conspiracies, and by punishing the malcontents, thus secured the peace of his dominions, now expected rest from his

labours: and finding none either willing or powerful enough to oppose him, he hoped that the end of his reign would be marked with prosperity and peace. But he found enemies where he least expected them, for his last troubles were excited by his own children, from the opposing of whom he could expect to reap neither glory nor gain. He had three sons, Robert, William, and Henry, besides several daughters. Robert, his eldest son, surnamed Curthose, inherited all the bravery of his family and nation, but was rather bold than prudent; and was often heard to express his jealousy of his two brothers, William and Henry. These, by greater assiduity, had wrought upon the credulity and affections of the king, and consequently were the most obnoxious to Robert, whose resentful mind soon found or made a cause for an open rupture. The princes were one day in sport together, and in the idle petulance of play, took it into their head to throw water upon their elder brother, as he passed through the court, on leaving their apartment. Robert, all alive to suspicion, quickly turned this frolic into a studied indignity, and having these jealousies still farther inflamed by one of his favourites, he drew his sword, and ran up stairs with intent to take revenge. The whole castle was quickly filled with tumult, and it was not without some difficulty, that the king himself was able to appease it. But he could not allay the animosity which, from that moment, prevailed in his family. Robert, attended by several of his

confederates, withdrew to Rouen that very night, hoping to surprise the castle, but his design was defeated by the governor.

The flame being thus kindled, the popular character of the prince, and a sympathy of manners, engaged all the young nobility of Normandy and Maine, as well as of Anjou and Britany, to espouse his quarrel; even his mother, it is said, aided him in this obstinate resistance by private encouragement. This unnatural contest continued for several years to inflame the Norman state; and William was at last obliged to have recourse to England for supporting his authority against his son. Accordingly, drawing an army of Englishmen together, he led them over to Normandy, where he soon compelled Robert and his adherents to quit the field, and he was quickly reinstated in all his dominions.

William had scarcely put an end to this transaction, when he felt a very severe blow in the death of Mathilda, his queen; and received information of a general insurrection in Maine, the nobility of which had been always averse to the Norman government. Upon his arrival on the continent, he found that the insurgents had been secretly assisted and excited by the King of France, whose policy consisted in lessening the Norman power. William's displeasure was not a little increased by the account he received of some raileries which that monarch had thrown out against him . . . This so provoked

the English monarch, that . . . he levied a strong army, and entering the Isle of France, destroyed and burned all the villages and houses without opposition, and took the town of Mante, which he reduced to ashes. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident which shortly after put an end to William's life.

Richard I. surnamed Coeur de Lion.

A. D. 1189—1199.

The coronation of Richard for his youthful behaviour towards his father was desirable, and influenced him in the choice of his ministers and servants after his accession. Those who had encouraged and favoured the rebellion, instead of meeting with that trust and honour which they expected, were disappointed to find that they lay under disgrace with the new king, and were on all occasions hated and despised by him. The faithful ministers of Henry who had vigorously opposed all the enterprises of his sons, were received with open arms, and were continued in their offices which they had honourably discharged to their former master. This prudent conduct might be the result of reflection; but in a prince, like Richard, so much guided by passion, and so little by policy, it was commonly observed

IV.

Hume's History of England.

CHAP. 10.

Richard I. surnamed Coeur de Lion.

A. D. 1189—1199.

The compunction of Richard for his undutiful behaviour towards his father was durable, and influenced him in the choice of his ministers and servants after his accession. Those who had seconded and favoured his rebellion, instead of meeting with that trust and honour which they expected, were surprised to find that they lay under disgrace with the new king, and were on all occasions hated and despised by him. The faithful ministers of Henry, who had vigorously opposed all the enterprises of his sons, were received with open arms, and were continued in those offices which they had honourably discharged to their former master. This prudent conduct might be the result of reflection; but in a prince, like Richard, so much guided by passion, and so little by policy, it was commonly ascribed

to a principle still more virtuous and more honourable.

Richard, that he might make atonement to one parent for his breach of duty to the other, immediately sent orders for releasing the queen-dowager from the confinement in which she had long been detained; and he entrusted her with the government of England till his arrival in that kingdom. His bounty to his brother John was rather profuse and imprudent. Besides bestowing on him the county of Mortaigne in Normandy, granting him a pension of four thousand marks a year, and marrying him to Avifa the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, by whom he inherited all the possessions of that opulent family, he increased his appanage, which the late king had destined him, by other extensive grants and concessions. He conferred on him the whole estate of William Peverell, which had escheated to the crown: he put him in possession of eight castles, with all the forests and honours annexed to them: he delivered over to him no less than six earldoms, Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Nottingham, Dorset, Lancaster, and Derby: and endeavouring, by favours, to fix that vicious prince in his duty, he put it too much in his power, whenever he pleased, to depart from it.

The King, impelled more by the love of military glory than by superstition, acted from the beginning of his reign, as if the sole purpose of his

government had been the relief of the Holy Land, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. This zeal against the infidels, being communicated to his subjects, broke out in London on the day of his coronation, and made them find a crusade less dangerous, and attended with more immediate profit. The prejudices of the age had made the lending of money on interest pass by the invidious name of usury: yet the necessity of the practice had still continued it, and the greater part of that kind of dealing fell every where into the hands of the Jews; who, being already infamous on account of their religion, had no honour to lose, and were apt to exercise a profession, odious in itself, by every kind of rigour, and even sometimes by rapine and extortion. The industry and frugality of this people had put them in possession of all the ready money, which the idleness and profusion common to the English with other European nations, enabled them to lend at exorbitant and unequal interest. The monkish writers represent it as a great stain on the wise and equitable government of Henry that he had carefully protected this infidel race from all injuries and insults; but the zeal of Richard afforded the populace a pretence for venting their animosity against them. The king had issued an edict prohibiting their appearance at his coronation, but some of them bringing him large presents from their nation, presumed, in confidence of that merit to approach the hall in which he dined: being discovered, they were exposed to the insults of the by-

standers; they took to flight; the people pursued them; the rumour was spread, that the king had issued orders to massacre all the Jews; a command so agreeable was executed in an instant on such as fell into the hands of the populace; those who had kept at home were exposed to equal danger: the people, moved by rapacity and zeal, broke into their houses, which they plundered, after having murdered the owners; where the Jews barricaded their doors and defended themselves with vigour, the rabble set fire to the houses, and made way through the flames to exercise their pillage and violence; the usual licentiousness of London, which the sovereign power with difficulty restrained, broke out with fury, and continued these outrages; the houses of the richest citizens, though Christians, were next attacked and plundered; and weariness and satiety at last put an end to the disorder: yet, when the king empowered Glanville, the justiciary, to inquire into the authors of these crimes, the guilt was found to involve so many of the most considerable citizens, that it was deemed more prudent to drop the prosecution; and very few suffered the punishment due to this enormity. But the disorder stopped not at London. The inhabitants of the other cities of England, hearing of this slaughter of the Jews, imitated the example: in York, five hundred of that nation, who had retired into the castle for safety, and found themselves unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, threw the dead bodies over the walls upon the po-

pulace, and then setting fire to the houses, perished in the flames. The gentry of the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, ran to the cathedral, where their bonds were kept, and made a solemn bonfire of the papers before the altar. The compiler of the Annals of Waverley, in relating these events, blesses the Almighty for thus delivering over this impious race to destruction.

The ancient situation of England, when the people possessed little riches and the public no credit, made it impossible for sovereigns to bear the expence of a steady or durable war even on their frontiers; much less could they find regular means for the support of distant expeditions like those into Palestine, which were more the result of popular frenzy than of sober reason or deliberate policy. Richard, therefore, knew that he must carry with him all the treasure necessary for his enterprise; and that both the remoteness of his own country and its poverty made it unable to furnish him with those continued supplies which the exigencies of so perilous a war must necessarily require. His father had left him a treasure of above a hundred thousand marks; and the king, negligent of every consideration but his present object, endeavoured to augment this sum by all expedients, how pernicious soever to the public, or dangerous to royal authority. He put to sale the revenues and manors of the crown; the offices of greatest trust and power, even those of forester and sheriff, which anciently were so im-

portant *), became venal; the dignity of chief justiciary, in whose hands was lodged the whole execution of the laws, was sold to Hugh de Puzas, bishop of Durham, for a thousand marks; the same prelate bought the earldom of Northumberland for life; many of the champions of the cross, who had repented of their vow, purchased the liberty of violating it; and Richard, who stood less in need of men than of money, dispensed, on these conditions, with their attendance. Elated with the hopes of fame, which in that age attended no wars but those against the infidels, he was blind to every other consideration; and when some of his wiser ministers objected to this dissipation of the revenue and power of the crown, he replied, that he would sell London itself, could he find a purchaser. Nothing indeed could be a stronger proof how negligent he was of all future interests in comparison of the crusade, than his selling, for so small a sum as 10,000 marks, the vassalage of Scotland, together with the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwic, the greatest acquisition that had been made by his father during the course of his victorious reign; and his accepting the homage of William in the usual terms, merely for the territories which that prince held in England. The English, of all ranks and stations, were oppressed

*) The sheriff had anciently both the administration of justice and the management of the king's revenue committed to him in the county.

by numerous exactions: menaces were employed, both against the innocent and the guilty, in order to extort money from them: and where a pretence was wanting against the rich, the king obliged them, by the fear of his displeasure, to lend him sums which, he knew, it would never be in his power to repay.

But Richard, though he sacrificed every interest and consideration to the success of this pious enterprise, carried so little the appearance of sanctity in his conduct, that Fulk, curate of Neuilly, a zealous preacher of the crusade, who from that merit had acquired the privilege of speaking the boldest truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious vices, particularly his pride, and avarice.

Richard, jealous of attempts which might be made on England during his absence, laid prince John, as well as his brother Geoffrey archbishop of York, under engagements, confirmed by their oaths, that neither of them should enter the kingdom till his return; though he thought proper, before his departure, to withdraw this prohibition. The administration was left in the hands of Hugh bishop of Durham, and of Longchamp bishop of Ely, whom he appointed justiciaries and guardians of the realm. The latter was a frenchman of mean birth, and of a violent character; who by art and address had insinuated himself into favour, whom Richard had created chancellor, and whom he had

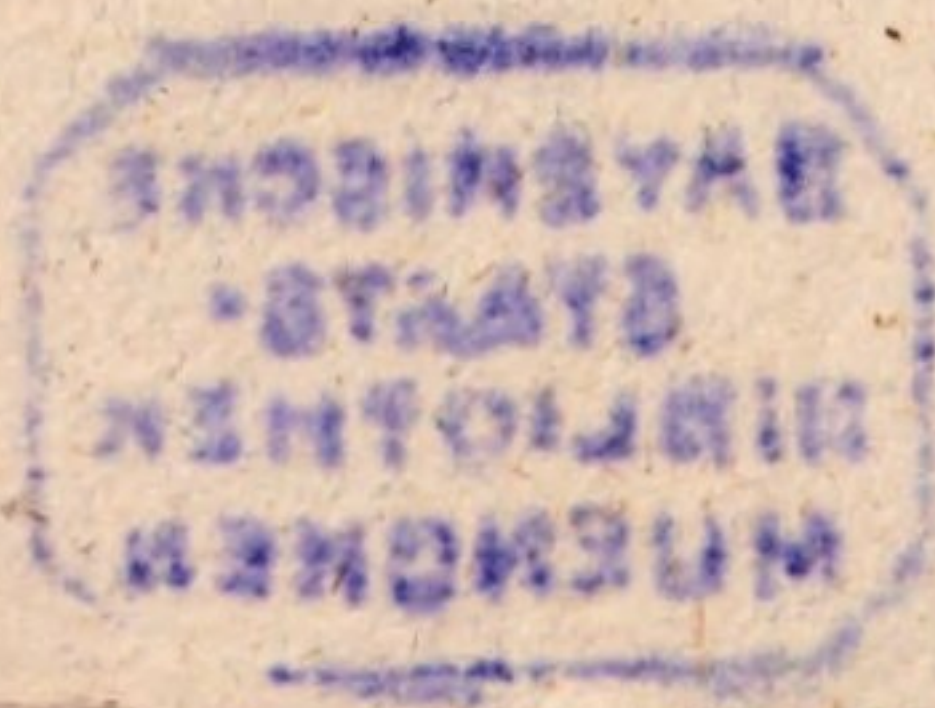
engaged the pope also to invest with the legatine authority, that, by centering every kind of power in his person, he might the better ensure the public tranquillity. All the military and turbulent spirits flocked about the person of the king, and were impatient to distinguish themselves against the infidels in Asia; whither his inclinations, his engagements led him, and whither he was impelled by messages from the King of France, ready to embark in this enterprize.

The Emperor Frederick, a prince of great spirit and conduct, had already taken the road to Palestine at the head of 150,000 men, collected from Germany and all the northern states. Having surmounted every obstacle thrown in his way by the artifices of the Greeks and the power of the infidels, he had penetrated to the borders of Syria; when bathing in the cold river Cydnus during the greatest heat of the summer season, he was seized with a mortal distemper, which put an end to his life and his rash enterprize. His army, under the command of his son Conrade, reached Palestine; but was so diminished by fatigue, famine, maladies, and the sword, that it scarcely amounted to eight thousand men; and was unable to make any progress against the great power, valour, and conduct of Saladin. These reiterated calamities attending the crusades had taught the Kings of France and England the necessity of trying another road to the Holy Land; and they determined to conduct their



armies thither by sea, to carry provisions along with them, and by means of their naval power, to maintain an open communication with their own states, and with the western parts of Europe. The place of rendezvous was appointed in the plains of Vezelay on the borders of Burgundy: Philip and Richard, on their arrival there, found their combined army amount to 100,000 men; a mighty force, animated with glory and religion, conducted by two warlike monarchs, provided with every thing which their several dominions could supply, and not to be overcome but by their own misconduct, or by the unsurmountable obstacles of nature.

The French prince and the English reiterated their promises of cordial friendship, pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the crusade, mutually exchanged the oaths of all their barons and prelates to the same effect, and subjected themselves to the penalty of interdicts and excommunications, if they should ever violate this public and solemn engagement. They then separated; Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marseilles, with a view of meeting their fleets, which were severally appointed to rendezvous in these harbours. They put to sea; and, nearly about the same time, were obliged, by stress of weather, to take shelter in Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. This incident laid the foundation of animosities which proved fatal to their enterprise.



Richard and Philip were, by the situation and extent of their dominions, rivals in power; by their age and inclinations competitors for glory; and these causes of emulation which, had the princes been employed in the field against the common enemy, might have stimulated them to martial enterprises, soon excited, during the present leisure and repose, quarrels between monarchs of such a fiery character. Equally haughty, ambitious, intrepid, and inflexible, they were irritated with the least appearance of injury, and were incapable, by mutual condescensions, to efface those causes of complaint which unavoidably arose between them. Richard, candid, sincere, undesigning, impolitic, violent, laid himself open, on every occasion, to the designs of his antagonist; who, provident, interested, intriguing, failed not to take all advantages against him: and thus, both the circumstances of their disposition in which they were similar, and those in which they differed, rendered it impossible for them to persevere in that harmony which was so necessary to the success of their undertaking.

The last King of Sicily and Naples was William II. who had married Joan, sister to Richard, and who, dying without issue, had bequeathed his dominions to his paternal aunt Constantia, the only descendant surviving of Roger, the first sovereign of those states who had been honoured with the royal title. This princess had, in expectation of that rich inheritance, been married to Henry VI. the reigning Emperor;

but Tancred, her brother, had fixed such an interest among the barons, that, taking advantage of Henry's absence, he had acquired possession of the throne, and maintained his claim, by force of arms against all the efforts of the Germans. The approach of the crusaders naturally gave him apprehensions for his unstable government; and he was uncertain, whether he had most reason to dread the presence of the French or of the English monarch. Philip was engaged in a strict alliance with the emperor his competitor; Richard was disgusted by his rigours towards the queen dowager, whom the Sicilian prince had confined in Palermo; because she had opposed with all her interest his succession to the crown. Tancred, therefore, sensible of the present necessity, resolved to pay court to both these formidable princes; and he was not unsuccessful in his endeavours. He persuaded Philip that it was highly improper for him to interrupt his enterprise against the infidels, by any attempt against a Christian state: he restored Queen Joan to her liberty; and even found means to make an alliance with Richard, who stipulated by treaty to marry his nephew, Arthur, the young duke of Brittany, to one of the daughters of Tancred. But before these terms of friendship were settled, Richard, jealous both of Tancred and of the inhabitants of Messina, had taken up his quarters in the suburbs, and had possessed himself of a small fort, which commanded the harbour; and he kept himself extremely on his guard against their enterprises.

The citizens took umbrage. Mutual insults and attacks passed between them and the English: Philip, who had quartered his troops in the town, endeavoured to accommodate the quarrel, and held a conference with Richard for that purpose. While the two kings, meeting in the open fields, were engaged in discourse on this subject, a body of those Sicilians seemed to be drawing towards them; and Richard pushed forwards, in order to inquire into the reason of this extraordinary movement. The English, insolent from their power, and inflamed with former animosities, wanted but a pretence for attacking the Messinese: they soon chased them off the field, drove them into the town, and entered with them at the gates. The king employed his authority to restrain them from pillaging and massacring the defenceless inhabitants; but he gave orders, in token of his victory, that the standard of England should be erected on the walls. Philip, who considered that place as his quarters, exclaimed against the insult, and ordered some of his troops to pull down the standard: but Richard informed him by a messenger, that, though he himself would willingly remove that ground of offence, he would not permit it to be done by others; and if the French King attempted such an insult upon him he should not succeed but by the utmost effusion of blood. Philip, content with this species of haughty submission, recalled his orders: the difference was seemingly accommodated; but still left the remains

of rancour and jealousy in the breasts of the two monarchs.

Tancred, who, for his own security, desired to inflame their mutual hatred, employed an artifice which might have been attended with consequences still more fatal. He showed Richard a letter, signed by the French King, and delivered to him, as he pretended, by the duke of Burgundy; in which that monarch desired Tancred to fall upon the quarters of the English and promised to assist him in putting them to the sword, as common enemies. The unwary Richard gave credit to the information; but was too candid not to betray his discontent to Philip, who absolutely denied the letter, and charged the Sicilian prince with forgery and falsehood. Richard either was, or pretended to be, entirely satisfied. . . .

The English army arrived in time to partake in the glory of the siege of Acre or Ptolemais, which had been attacked for above two years by the united force of all the Christians in Palestine, and had been defended by the utmost efforts of Saladin, and the Saracens. The remains of the German army, conducted by the Emperor Frederick, and the separate bodies of adventurers who continually poured in from the West, had enabled the King of Jerusalem to form this important enterprise: but Saladin, having thrown a strong garrison into the place under the command of Caracos, his own master in the

art of war, and molesting the besiegers with continual attacks and sallies, had protracted the success of the enterprise, and wasted the force of his enemies. The arrival of Philip and Richard inspired new life into the Christians; and these princes, acting by concert, and sharing the honour and danger of every action, gave hopes of a final victory over the infidels. They agreed on this plan of operations: when the French monarch attacked the town, the English guarded the trenches: next day, when the English prince conducted the assault, the French succeeded him in providing for the safety of the assailants. The emulation between those rival kings and rival nations produced extraordinary acts of valour: Richard in particular, animated with a more precipitate courage than Philip, and more agreeable to the romantic spirit of that age, drew to himself the general attention, and acquired a great and splendid reputation. But this harmony was of short duration; and occasions of discord soon arose between these jealous and haughty princes.

The family of Bouillon, which had first been placed on the throne of Jerusalem, ending in a female, Fulk, count of Anjou, grandfather to Henry II. of England, married the heiress of that kingdom, and transmitted his title to the younger branches of his family. The Angevin race ending also in a female, Guy de Lusignan, by espousing Sibylla, the heiress, had succeeded to the title; and though he

lost his kingdom by the invasion of Saladin, he was still acknowledged by all the Christians for King of Jerusalem. But as Sibylla died without issue, during the siege of Acre, Isabella, her younger sister, put in her claim to that titular kingdom, and required Lusignan to resign his pretensions to her husband Conrade marquis of Montferrat. Lusignan, maintaining that the royal title was unalienable and indefeasible, had recourse to the protection of Richard, attended on him before he left Cyprus, and engaged him to embrace his cause. There needed no other reason for throwing Philip into the party of Conrade; and the opposite views of these great monarchs brought faction and dissension into the Christian army, and retarded all its operations. The Templars, the Genoese, and the Germans, declared for Philip and Conrade; the Flemings, the Pisans, the knights of the hospital of St. John, adhered to Richard and Lusignan. But notwithstanding these disputes, as the length of the siege had reduced the Saracen garrison to the last extremity, they surrendered themselves prisoners; stipulated, in return for their lives, other advantages to the Christians, such as the restoring of the Christian prisoners, and the delivery of the wood of the true cross *); and this great enterprize, which had long engaged the attention of

*) This true cross was lost in the battle of Tiberiade, to which it had been carried by the crusaders for their protection.

all Europe and Asia, was at last, after the loss of 300,000 men, brought to a happy period.

But Philip, instead of pursuing the hopes of farther conquest, and of redeeming the holy city from slavery, being disgusted with the ascendant assumed and acquired by Richard, and having views of many advantages which he might reap by his presence in Europe, declared his resolution of returning to France; and he pleaded his bad state of health as an excuse for his desertion of the common cause. He left, however, to Richard, ten thousand of his troops, under the command of the duke of Burgundy; and he renewed his oath never to commence hostilities against that prince's dominions during his absence. But he had no sooner reached Italy than he applied, it is pretended, to Pope Celestine III. for a dispensation from his vow; and when denied that request, he still proceeded, though after a covert manner, in a project, which the present situation of England rendered inviting, and which gratified, in an eminent degree, both his resentment and his ambition.

Immediately after Richard had left England, and begun his march to the Holy Land, the two prelates, whom he had appointed guardians of the realm, broke out into animosities against each other, and threw the kingdom into combustion. Longchamp, presumptuous in his nature, elated by the favour which he enjoyed with his master, and armed with

the legatine commission, could not submit to an equality with the bishop of Durham: he even went so far as to arrest his colleague, and to extort from him a resignation of the earldom of Northumberland, and of his other dignities, as the price of his liberty. The king, informed of these dissensions, ordered by letters from Marseilles, that the bishop should be reinstated in his offices; but Longchamp had still the boldness to refuse compliance, on pretence that he himself was better acquainted with the king's secret intentions. He proceeded to govern the kingdom by his sole authority; to treat all the nobility with arrogance; and to display his power and riches with an invidious ostentation. He never travelled without a strong guard of fifteen hundred foreign soldiers: nobles and knights were proud of being admitted into his train: his retinue wore the aspect of royal magnificence: and when, in his progress through the kingdom, he lodged in any monastery, his attendants, it is said, were sufficient to devour, in one night, the revenue of several years. The king, who was detained in Europe longer than the haughty prelate expected, being informed of the insolent tyrannical conduct of his minister; thought proper to restrain his power: he sent new orders, appointing Walter archbishop of Rouen, William Marshal earl of Strigul, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Briewere, and Hugh Bardolf, counsellors to Longchamp, and commanding him to take no measure of importance without their concurrence and approbation. But such general ter-

ror had this man impressed by his violent conduct, that even the archbishop of Rouen and the earl of Strigul durst not produce this mandate of the king's; and Longchamp still maintained an uncontrolled authority over the nation. But when he proceeded so far as to throw into prison Geoffrey archbishop of York, who had opposed his measures, this breach of ecclesiastical privileges excited such an universal ferment, that prince John, disgusted with the small share he possessed in the government, and personally disobliged by Longchamp, ventured to summon, at Reading, a general council of the nobility and prelates, and cite him to appear before them. Longchamp thought it dangerous to entrust his person in their hands, and he shut himself up in the Tower of London; but being soon obliged to surrender that fortress, he fled beyond sea, and was deprived of his offices of chancellor and chief justiciary; the last of which was conferred on the archbishop of Rouen, a prelate of prudence and moderation. The commission of legate, however, which had been renewed to Longchamp by Pope Celestine, still gave him, notwithstanding his absence, great authority in the kingdom, enabled him to disturb the government, and forwarded the views of Philip, who watched every opportunity of annoying Richard's dominions. The monarch first attempted to carry open war into Normandy; but as the French nobility refused to follow him in an invasion of a state which they had sworn to protect, and as the pope, who was the general guardian of all princes that had taken the

cross, threatened him with ecclesiastical censures, he desisted from his enterprize, and employed against England the expedient of secret policy and intrigue . . .

The jealousy of Philip was every moment excited by the glory which the great actions of Richard were gaining him in the East, and which, being compared to his own desertion of that popular cause, threw a double lustre on his rival. His envy, therefore, prompted him to obscure that fame which he had not equalled; and he embraced every pretence of throwing the most violent and most improbable calumnies on the King of England. There was a petty prince in Asia, commonly called The old man of the mountain, who had acquired such an ascendant over his fanatical subjects, that they paid the most implicit deference to his commands; esteemed assassination meritorious, when sanctified by his mandate; courted danger, and even certain death, in the execution of his orders; and fancied, that when they sacrificed their lives for his sake, the highest joys of paradise were the infallible reward of their devoted obedience. It was the custom of this prince, when he imagined himself injured, to dispatch secretly some of his subjects against the aggressor, to charge them with the execution of his revenge, to instruct them in every part of disguising their purpose; and no precaution was sufficient to guard any man, however powerful, against the attempts of those subtle and determined

ruffians. The greatest monarchs stood in awe of this prince of the Assassins (for that was the name of his people; whence the word has passed into most European languages), and it was the highest indiscretion in Conrade marquis of Montferrat to offend and affront him. The inhabitants of Tyre, who were governed by that nobleman, had put to death some of this dangerous people; the prince demanded satisfaction; for, as he piqued himself on never beginning any offence, he had his regular and established formalities in requiring atonement: Conrade treated his messengers with disdain: the prince issued the fatal orders: two of his subjects, who had insinuated themselves in disguise among Conrade's guards, openly, in the streets of Sidon, wounded him mortally; and when they were seized and put to the most cruel tortures, they triumphed amidst their agonies, and rejoiced that they had been destined by Heaven to suffer in so just and meritorious a cause.

Every one in Palestine knew from what hand the blow came, Richard was entirely free from suspicion. Though that monarch had formerly maintained the cause of Lusignan against Conrade, he had become sensible of the bad effects attending those dissensions, and had voluntarily conferred on the former the kingdom of Cyprus, on condition that he should resign to his rival all pretensions to the crown of Jerusalem. Conrade himself, with his dying breath, had recommended his widow to the

protection of Richard; the prince of the Assassins avowed the action in a formal narrative which he sent to Europe; yet on this foundation the King of France thought fit to build the most egregious calumnies, and to impute to Richard the murder of the marquis of Montferrat, whose elevation he had once openly opposed. He filled all Europe with exclamations against the crime; appointed a guard for his own person, in order to defend himself against a like attempt; and endeavoured, by these shallow artifices, to cover the infamy of attacking the dominions of a prince, whom he himself had deserted, and who was engaged with so much glory in a war, universally acknowledged to be the common cause of Christendom.

But Richard's heroic actions in Palestine were the best apology for his conduct. The Christian adventurers under his commands determined, on opening the campaign, to attempt the siege of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jerusalem; and they marched along the sea-coast with that intention. Saladin purposed to intercept their passage; and he placed himself on the road with an army amounting to 300,000 combatants. On this occasion was fought one of the greatest battles of that age; and the most celebrated for the military genius of the commanders, for the number and valour of the troops, and for the great variety of events which attended it. Both the right wing of the Christians, commanded by d'Avesnes, and the

left, conducted by the duke of Burgundy, were, in the beginning of the day, broken and defeated; when Richard, who led on the main body, restored the battle; attacked the enemy with intrepidity and presence of mind; performed the part both of a consummate general and gallant soldier; and not only gave his two wings leisure to recover from their confusion, but obtained a complete victory over the Saracens, of whom forty thousand are said to have perished in the field. Ascalon soon after fell into the hands of the Christians: other sieges were carried on with equal success: Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the object of his enterprise; when he had the mortification to find, that he must abandon all hopes of immediate success, and must put a stop to his career of victory. The crusaders, animated with an enthusiastic ardour for the holy wars, broke at first through all regards to safety or interest in the prosecution of their purpose; and trusting to the immediate assistance of Heaven, set nothing before their eyes but fame and victory in this world, and a crown of glory in the next. But long absence from home, fatigue, disease, want, and the variety of incidents which naturally attend war, had gradually abated that fury, which nothing was able directly to withstand; and every one, except the King of England, expressed a desire of speedily returning into Europe. The Germans and the Italians declared their resolution of desisting from the enterprise: the French were still more obstinate in this purpose:

the duke of Burgundy, in order to pay court to Philip, took all opportunities of mortifying and opposing Richard: and there appeared an absolute necessity of abandoning for the present all hopes of farther conquest, and of securing the acquisition of the Christians by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard, therefore, concluded a truce with that monarch, and stipulated that Acre, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine, should remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested. This truce was concluded for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; a magical number, which had probably been devised by the Europeans, and which was suggested by a superstition well suited to the object of the war.

The liberty, in which Saladin indulged the Christians to perform their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, was an easy sacrifice on his part; and the furious wars which he waged in defence of the barren territory of Judea, were not with him, as with the European adventurers, the result of superstition, but of policy. The advantage indeed of science, moderation, humanity, was at that time entirely on the side of the Saracens; and this gallant emperor, in particular, displayed, during the course of the war, a spirit and generosity, which even his bigoted enemies were obliged to acknowledge and admire. Richard, equally martial and brave, carried

with him more of the barbarian character; and was guilty of acts of ferocity, which threw a stain on his celebrated victories. When Saladin refused to ratify the capitulation of Acre, the King of England ordered all his prisoners, to the number of five thousand, to be butchered; and the Saracens found themselves obliged to retaliate upon the Christians by a like cruelty. Saladin died at Damascus soon after concluding this truce with the princes of the crusade: it is memorable, that before he expired, he ordered his winding-sheet to be carried as a standard through every street of the city; while a crier went before and proclaimed with a loud voice, This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East. By his last will he ordered charities to be distributed to the poor, without distinction of Jew, Christian, or Mahometan.

There remained after the truce, no business of importance to detain Richard in Palestine; and the intelligence which he received, concerning the intrigues of his brother John, and those of the King of France, made him sensible, that his presence was necessary in Europe. As he dared not to pass through France, he sailed to the Adriatic; and being shipwrecked near Aquileja, he put on the disguise of a pilgrim, with a purpose of taking his journey secretly through Germany. Pursued by the governor of Istria, he was forced out of the direct road to England, and was obliged to pass by Vienna;

where his expences and liberalities betrayed the monarch in the habit of the pilgrim; and he was arrested by orders of Leopold duke of Austria. This prince had served under Richard at the siege of Acre; but being disgusted by some insult of that haughty monarch, he was so ungenerous as to seize the present opportunity of gratifying at once his avarice and revenge; and he threw the king into prison. The Emperor Henry VI. who also considered Richard as an enemy, on account of the alliance contracted by him with Tancred King of Sicily, dispatched messengers to the duke of Austria, required the royal captive to be delivered to him, and stipulated a large sum of money as a reward for this service. Thus the King of England, who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himself, during the most critical state of his affairs, confined in a dungeon, and loaded with irons, in the heart of Germany, and entirely at the mercy of his enemies, the basest and most sordid of mankind.

The English council was astonished on receiving this fatal intelligence; and foresaw all the dangerous consequences which might naturally arise from that event. The queen dowager wrote reiterated letters to Pope Celestine, exclaiming against the injury which her son had sustained; representing the impiety of detaining in prison the most illustrious prince that had yet carried the banners of Christ into the Holy Land; claiming the protection of the apostolic see, which was due even to the meanest of those ad-

venturers ; and upbraiding the pope, that, in a cause where justice, religion, and the dignity of the church, were so much concerned, a cause which it might well besit his holiness himself to support by taking in person a journey to Germany, the spiritual thunders should so long be suspended over those sacrilegious offenders. The zeal of Celestine corresponded not to the impatience of the queen mother ; and the regency of England were, for a long time, left to struggle alone with all their domestic and foreign enemies.

The King of France, quickly informed of Richard's confinement by a message from the emperor, prepared himself to take advantage of the incident ; and he employed every means of force and intrigue, of war and negotiation, against the dominions and the persons of his unfortunate rival. He revived the calumny of Richard's assassinating the marquis of Montferrat ; and by that absurd pretence he induced his barons to violate their oaths, by which they had engaged that, during the crusade, they never would, on any account, attack the dominions of the King of England. He made the emperor the largest offers, if he would deliver into his hands the royal prisoner, or at least detain him in perpetual captivity : he even formed an alliance by marriage with the King of Denmark, desired that the ancient Danish claim to the crown of England should be transferred to him, and solicited a supply of shipping to maintain it. But the most successful

of Philip's negotiations was with prince John, who, forgetting every tie to his brother, his sovereign, and his benefactor, thought of nothing but how to make his own advantage of the public calamities. That traitor, on the first invitation from the court of France, suddenly went abroad, had a conference with Philip, and made a treaty, of which the object was the perpetual ruin of his unhappy brother. He stipulated to deliver into Philip's hands a great part of Normandy; he received, in return, the investiture of all Richard's transmarine dominions; and it is reported by several historians, that he even did homage to the French King for the crown of England.

In consequence of this treaty, Philip invaded Normandy; and by the treachery of John's emissaries, made himself master, without opposition, of many fortresses, Neufchatel, Neauffle, Gisors, Pacey, Ivreé: he subdued the counties of Eu and Aumale; and advancing to form the siege of Roüen, he threatened to put all the inhabitants to the sword if they dared to make resistance. Happily, Robert earl of Leicester appeared in that critical moment; a gallant nobleman, who had acquired great honour during the crusade, and who, being more fortunate than his master in finding his passage homewards, took on him the command in Roüen, and exerted himself, by his exhortations and example, to infuse courage into the dismayed Normans. Philip was repulsed in every attack; the time of service from his vassals

expired; and he consented to a truce with the English regency, received in return the promise of 20,000 marks, and had four castles put into his hands, as security for the payment.

Prince John, who, with a view of increasing the general confusion, went over to England, was still less successful in his enterprises. He was only able to make himself master of the castles of Windsor and Wallingford; but when he arrived in London, and claimed the kingdom as heir to his brother, of whose death he pretended to have received certain intelligence, he was rejected by all the barons, and measures were taken to oppose and subdue him. The justiciaries, supported by the general affection of the people, provided so well for the defence of the kingdom, that John was obliged, after some fruitless efforts, to conclude a truce with them; and before its expiration, he thought it prudent to return to France, where he openly avowed his alliance with Philip.

Meanwhile the high spirit of Richard suffered in Germany every kind of insult and indignity. The French ambassadors, in their masters name, renounced him as a vassal to the crown of France, and declared all his fiefs to be forfeited to his liege-lord. The Emperor, that he might render him more impatient for the recovery of his liberty, and make him submit to the payment of a larger ransom, treated him with the greatest severity, and reduced

him to a condition worse than that of the meanest malefactor. He was even produced before the diet of the empire at Worms, and accused by Henry of many crimes and misdemeanors: of making an alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily; of turning the arms of the crusade against a Christian prince, and subduing Cyprus; of affronting the duke of Austria before Acre; of obstructing the progress of the Christian arms by his quarrels with the King of France; of assassinating Conrade marquis of Montferrat; and of concluding a truce with Saladin, and leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Saracen Emperor. Richard, whose spirit was not broken by his misfortunes, and whose genius was rather roused by these frivolous or scandalous imputations; after premising that his dignity exempted him from answering before any jurisdiction, except that of Heaven; yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that great assembly. He observed, that he had no hand in Tancred's elevation, and only concluded a treaty with a prince whom he found in possession of the throne: that the king, or rather tyrant of Cyprus, had provoked his indignation by the most ungenerous and unjust proceedings; and though he chastised this aggressor, he had not retarded a moment the progress of his chief enterprise: that if he had at any time been wanting in civility to the duke of Austria, he had already been sufficient punished for that sally of passion; and it better became men, embarked together in so holy a cause, to forgive each other's

infirmities, than to pursue a slight offence with such unrelenting vengeance: that it had been sufficiently appeared by the event, whether the King of France or he were most zealous for the conquest of the Holy Land, and were most likely to sacrifice private passions and animosities to that great object: that if the whole tenor of his life had not shewn him incapable of a base assassination, and justified him from that imputation in the eyes of his very enemies, it was in vain for him, at present, to make his apology, or plead the many irrefragable arguments which he could produce in his own favour: and that, however he might regret the necessity, he was so far from being ashamed of his truce with Saladin, that he rather gloried in that event; and thought it extremely honourable, that, though abandoned by all the world, supported only by his own courage, and by the small remains of his national troops, he could yet obtain such conditions from the most powerful and most warlike emperor that the East had ever yet produced. Richard, after thus deigning to apologise for his conduct, burst out into indignation at the cruel treatment which he had met with; that he, the champion of the cross, still wearing that honourable badge, should, after expending the blood and treasure of his subjects in the common cause of Christendom, be intercepted by Christian princes in his return to his own country, be thrown into a dungeon, be loaded with irons, be obliged to plead his cause, as if he were a subject and a malefactor; and, what he still more re-

gretted, be thereby prevented from making preparations for a new crusade, which he had projected, after the expiration of the truce, and from redeeming the sepulchre of Christ, which had so long been profaned by the dominion of infidels. The spirit and eloquence of Richard made such impression on the German princes, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor; the pope threatened him with excommunication; and Henry, who had hearkened to the proposals of the King of France and prince John, found that it would be impracticable for him to execute his and their base purposes, or to detain the King of England any longer in captivity. He therefore concluded with him a treaty for his ransom, and agreed to restore him to his freedom for the sum of 150,000 marks, about 300,000 pounds of our present money; of which 100,000 marks were to be paid before he received his liberty, and sixty-seven hostages delivered for the remainder. The emperor, as if to gloss over the infamy of this transaction, made at the same time a present to Richard of the kingdom of Arles, comprehending Provence, Dauphiny, Narbonne, and other states, over which the empire had some antiquated claims; a present which the king very wisely neglected.

The captivity of the superior lord was one of the cases provided for by the feudal tenures; and all the vassals were in that event obliged to give an aid for his ransom. Twenty shillings were

therefore levied on each knight's fee in England; but as this money came in slowly, and was not sufficient for the intended purpose, the voluntary zeal of the people readily supplied the deficiency. The churches and monasteries melted down their plate, to the amount of 30,000 marks; the bishops, abbots, and nobles, paid a fourth of their yearly rent; the parochial clergy contributed a tenth of their tithes; and the requisite sum being thus collected, Queen Eleanor, and Walter archbishop of Rouen, set out with it for Germany; paid the money to the emperor and the duke of Austria at Menz; delivered them hostages for the remainder; and freed Richard from captivity. His escape was very critical. Henry had been detected in the assassination of the bishop of Liege, and in an attempt of a like nature on the duke of Louvaine; and finding himself extremely obnoxious to the German princes on account of these odious practices, he had determined to seek support from an alliance with the King of France; to detain Richard, the enemy of that prince, in perpetual captivity; to keep in his hands the money which he had already received for his ransom; and to extort fresh sums from Philip and prince John, who were very liberal in their offers to him. He therefore gave orders that Richard should be pursued and arrested; but the king, making all imaginable haste, had already embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and was out of sight of land, when the messengers of the emperor reached Antwerp.

The joy of the English was extreme on the appearance of their monarch (20th March 1194), who had suffered so many calamities, who had acquired so much glory, and who had spread the reputation of their name into the farthest East, whither their fame had never before been able to extend. He gave them, soon after his arrival, an opportunity of publickly displaying their exultation, by ordering himself to be crowned anew at Winchester; as if he intended, by that ceremony, to reinstate himself in his throne, and to wipe off the ignominy of his captivity. Their satisfaction was not damped, even when he declared his purpose of resuming all those exorbitant grants, which he had been necessitated to make before his departure for the Holy Land. The barons, also, in a great council, confiscated, on account of his treason, all prince John's possessions in England; and they assisted the king in reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents. Richard, having settled every thing in England, passed over with an army into Normandy; being impatient to make war on Philip, and to revenge himself for the many injuries which he had received from that monarch. As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance from captivity, he wrote to his confederate John, in these terms: Take care of yourself: the devil is broken loose.

When we consider such powerful and martial monarchs, inflamed with personal animosity against

each other, enraged by mutual injuries, excited by rivalship, impelled by opposite interests, and instigated by the pride and violence of their own temper; our curiosity is naturally raised, and we expect an obstinate and furious war, distinguished by the greatest events, and concluded by some remarkable catastrophe. Yet are the incidents, which attend those hostilities, so frivolous, that scarce any historian can entertain such a passion for military descriptions as to venture on a detail of them: a certain proof of the extreme weakness of princes in those ages, and of the little authority they possessed over their refractory vassals! The whole amount of the exploits on both sides is, the taking of a castle, the surprise of a straggling party, a encounter of horse, which resembles more a rout than a battle. Richard obliged Philip to raise the siege of Verneuil; he took Loches, a small town in Anjou; he made himself master of Beaumont, and some other places of little consequence; and after these trivial exploits, the two kings began already to hold conferences for an accommodation. Philip insisted that, if a general peace were concluded, the barons on each side should, for the future, be prohibited from carrying on private wars against each other: but Richard replied, that this was a right claimed by his vassals, and he could not debar them from it. After this fruitless negotiation, there ensued an action between the French and English cavalry at Fretteval, in which the former were routed, and the King of France's cartulary and re-

cords, which commonly at that time attended his person, were taken. But this victory leading to no important advantages, a truce for a year was at last, from mutual weakness, concluded between the two monarchs.

During this war prince John deserted from Philip, threw himself at his brother's feet, craved pardon for his offences, and by the intercession of Queen Eleanor was received into favour. I forgive him, said the king, and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries, as he will my pardon. John was incapable even of returning to his duty, without committing a baseness. Before he left Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison which that prince had placed in the citadel of Evreux; he massacred them during the entertainment; fell with the assistance of the townsmen, on the garrison, whom he put to the sword; and then delivered up the place to his brother.

The King of France was the great object of Richard's resentment and animosity: the conduct of John, as well as that of the emperor and duke of Austria, had been so base, and was exposed to such general odium and reproach, that the king deemed himself sufficiently revenged for their injuries; and he seems never to have entertained any project of vengeance against any of them. The duke of Austria, about this time . . . being struck, on the approaches of death, with remorse for his injustice to Richard, he

ordered, by will, all the English hostages in his hands to be set at liberty, and the remainder of the debt due to him to be remitted: his son, who seemed inclined to disobey these orders, was constrained by his ecclesiastics to execute them. The emperor also made advances for Richard's friendship, and offered to give him a discharge of all the debt not yet paid to him, provided he would enter into an offensive alliance against the King of France; a proposal which was very acceptable to Richard, and was greedily embraced by him. The treaty with the emperor took no effect; but it served to rekindle the war between France and England before the expiration of the truce. This war was not distinguished by any more remarkable incidents than the foregoing. After mutually ravaging the open country, and taking a few insignificant castles, the two kings concluded a peace at Louviers, and made an exchange of some territories with each other. Their inability to wage war occasioned the peace: their mutual antipathy engaged them again in war before two months expired. Richard imagined, that he had now found an opportunity of gaining great advantages over his rival, by forming an alliance with the counts of Flanders, Toulouze, Boulogne, Champagne, and other considerable vassals of the crown of France. But he soon experienced the insincerity of those princes; and was not able to make any impression on that kingdom, while governed by a monarch of so much vigour and activity as Philip. The most remarkable in-

cident of this war was the taking prisoner in battle the bishop of Beauvais, a martial prelate, who was of the family of Dreux, and a near relation of the French King's. Richard, who hated that bishop, threw him into prison, and loaded him with irons; and when the pope demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his son, the king sent to his holiness the coat of mail which the prelate had worn in battle, and which was all besmeared with blood; and he replied to him, in terms employed by Jacob's sons to that patriarch, This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no. This new war between England and France, though carried on with such animosity that both kings frequently put out the eyes of their prisoners, was soon finished by a truce of five years; and immediately after signing this treaty, the kings were ready, on some new offence, to break out again into hostilities; when the mediation of the cardinal of St. Mary, the Pope's legate, accommodated the difference. This prelate even engaged the princes to commence a treaty for a more durable peace; but the death of Richard put an end to the negotiation.

Vidomer, viscount of Limoges, a vassal of the king's, had found a treasure, of which he sent part to that prince as a present. Richard, as superior lord, claimed the whole; and at the head of some Brabançons, besieged the viscount in the castle of Chalos, near Limoges, in order to make him comply with his demand. The garrison offered to surrender; but the king replied, that, since he had taken the

pains to come thither and besiege the place in person, he would take it by force, and would hang every one of them. The same day Richard, accompanied by Marcadée, leader of his Brabançons, approached the castle in orders to survey it; when one Bertrand de Gourdon, an archer, took aim at him, and pierced his shoulder with an arrow. The king, however, gave orders for the assault, took the place, and hanged all the garrison, except Gourdon, who had wounded him, and whom he reserved for a more deliberate and more cruel execution.

The wound was not in itself dangerous; but the unskilfulness of the surgeon made it mortal: he so rankled Richard's shoulder in pulling out the arrow, that a gangrene ensued; and that prince was now sensible that his life was drawing towards a period. He sent for Gourdon, and asked him, Wretch, what have I ever done to you, to oblige you to seek my life? — What have you done to me? replied coolly the prisoner: you killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers; and you intended to have hanged myself: I am now in your power, and you may take revenge, by inflicting on me the most severe torments: but I shall endure them all with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a nuisance. Richard, struck with the reasonableness of this reply, and humbled by the near approach of

death, ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty, and a sum of money to be given him; but Marcadée, unknown to him, seized the unhappy man, flayed him alive, and then hanged him. Richard died (6th April) in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-second of his age.

The most shining part of this prince's character are his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried personal courage and intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality gained him the appellation of the lion-hearted, *coeur de lion*. He passionately loved glory, chiefly military glory; and as his conduct in the field was not inferior to his valour, he seems to have possessed every talent necessary for acquiring it. His resentments also were high; his pride unconquerable; and his subjects, as well as his neighbours, had therefore reason to apprehend, from the continuance of his reign, a perpetual scene of blood and violence. Of an impetuous and vehement spirit, he was distinguished by all the good, as well as the bad qualities, incident to that character: he was open, frank, generous, sincere, and brave; he was revengeful, domineering, ambitious, haughty, and cruel; and was thus better calculated to dazzle men by the splendour of his enterprises, than either to promote their happiness or his own grandeur, by a sound and well-regulated policy. As military talents make great impression on the people, he seems to have been much beloved by his English subjects; and

he is remarked to have been the first prince of the Norman line that bore any sincere regard to them. He passed however only four months of his reign in that kingdom: the crusade employed him near three years; he was detained about fourteen months in captivity; the rest of his reign was spent either in war, or preparations for war, against France; and he was so pleased with the fame which he had acquired in the East, that he determined, notwithstanding his past misfortunes, to have farther exhausted his kingdom, and to have exposed himself to new hazards, by conducting another expedition against the infidels.

Though the English pleased themselves with the glory which the king's martial genius procured them, his reign was very oppressive and somewhat arbitrary, by the high taxes which he levied on them, and often without consent of the states or great-council. In the ninth year of his reign, he levied nine shillings on each hyde of land; and because the clergy refused to contribute their share, he put them out of the protection of law, and ordered the civil courts to give them no sentence for any debts which they might claim. Twice in his reign he ordered all his charters to be sealed anew, and the parties to pay fees for the renewal. It is said that Hubert, his justiciary, sent him over to France, in the space of two years, no less a sum than 1,000,000 marks, besides bearing all the charges of the government in England. But this account is

quite incredible, unless we suppose that Richard made a thorough dilapidation of the demesnes of the crown, which it is not likely he could do with any advantage after his former resumption of all grants. A king, who possessed such a revenue, could never have endured fourteen months captivity, for not paying 150,000 marks to the emperor, and be obliged at last to have hostages for a third of the sum. The prices of commodities in this reign are also a certain proof that no such enormous sum could be levied on the people. A hyde of land, or about a hundred and twenty acres, was commonly let at twenty shillings a year, money of that time. As there were 243,600 hydes in England, it is easy to compute the amount of all the landed rents of the kingdom. The general and stated price of an ox was four shillings; of a labouring horse the same; of a sow, one shilling; of a sheep with fine wool, ten pence; with coarse wool, six pence. These commodities seem not to have advanced in their prices since the conquest, and to have still been ten times cheaper than at present.

Richard renewed the severe laws against transgressors in his forests, whom he punished by putting out their eyes, as in the reign of his great grandfather. He established by law one weight and measure throughout his kingdom: a useful institution, which the mercenary disposition and necessities of his successor engaged him to dispense with for money.

The disorders in London, derived from its bad police, had risen to a great height during this reign; and in the year 1196, there seemed to be formed so regular a conspiracy among the numerous malefactors, as threatened the city with destruction. There was one William Fitz-Ofbert, commonly called Longbeard, a lawyer, who had rendered himself extremely popular among the lower rank of citizens; and, by defending them on all occasions, had acquired the appellation of the advocate or saviour of the poor. He exerted his authority, by injuring and insulting the more substantial citizens, with whom he lived in a state of hostility, and who were every moment exposed to the most outrageous violences from him and his licentious emissaries. Murders were daily committed in the streets; houses were broken open and pillaged in day light; and it is pretended, that no less than fifty-two thousand persons had entered into an association, by which they bound themselves to obey all the orders of this dangerous ruffian. Archbishop Hubert, who was then chief justiciary, summoned him before the council to answer for his conduct; but he came so well attended, that no one durst accuse him, or give evidence against him; and the primate, finding the impotence of law, contented himself with exacting from the citizens hostages for their good behaviour. He kept, however, a watchful eye on Fitz-Ofbert; and seizing a favourable opportunity, attempted to commit him to custody; but the criminal, murdering one of the public officers, escaped to the church

of St. Mary le Bow, where he defended himself by force of arms. He was at last forced from his retreat, condemned, and executed amidst the regrets of the populace, who were so devoted to his memory, that they stole his gibbet, paid the same veneration to it as to the cross, and were equally zealous in propagating and attesting reports of the miracles wrought by it. But though the sectaries of this superstition were punished by the justiciary, it received so little encouragement from the established clergy, whose property was endangered by such seditious practices, that it suddenly sunk and vanished.

It was during the crusades, that the custom of using coats of arms was first introduced into Europe. The knights, cased up in armour, had no way to make themselves be known and distinguished in battle, but the devices on their shields; and these were gradually adopted by their posterity and families, who were proud of the pious and military enterprises of their ancestors.

King Richard was a passionate lover of poetry: there even remain some poetical works of his composition: and he bears a rank among the Provençal poets or *Trobadores*, who were the first of the modern Europeans that distinguished themselves by attempts of that nature.

V.

Chesterfield's Advice to his Son, on
Men and Manners.

Rules for Conversation.

Talking.

When you are in company, talk often, but never long; in that case, if you do not please, at least you are sure not to tire your hearers.

Learn the characters of company before
you talk much.

Inform yourself of the characters and situations of the company, before you give way to what your imagination may prompt you to say. There are, in all companies, more wrong heads than right ones, and many more who deserve, than who like censure. Should you therefore expatiate in the praise of some virtue, which some in company notoriously want; or declaim against any vice, which others are notoriously infected with; your reflections, however general and unapplied will, by being applicable,

be thought personal, and levelled at those people. This consideration points out to you sufficiently, not to be suspicious and captious yourself, nor to suppose that things, because they may, are therefore meant at you.

Telling stories and digressions.

Tell stories very seldom, and, absolutely, never but where they are apt, and very short. Omit every circumstance that is not material, and beware of digressions. To have frequent recourse to narrative, betrays great want of imagination.

Seizing people by the button.

Never hold any body by the button, or the hand, in order to be heard out; for, if people are not willing to hear you, you had much better hold your tongue than them.

Long talkers and whisperers.

Long talkers generally single out some unfortunate man in company, to whisper, or at least, in a half voice, to convey a continuity of words to. This is excessively ill-bred, and, in some degree, a fraud; conversation-stock being a joint and common property. But, if one of these unmerciful talkers lays hold of you, hear him with patience, (and at least seeming attention) if he is worth obliging; for nothing will oblige him more than a patient hearing, as nothing would hurt him more, than either to

leave him in the midst of his discourse, or to discover your impatience under your affliction.

Inattention to persons speaking.

There is nothing so brutally shocking, nor so little forgiven, as a seeming inattention to the person who is speaking to you; and I have known many a man knocked down for a much slighter provocation than that inattention which I mean. I have seen many people, who while you are speaking to them, instead of looking at, and attending to you, fix their eyes upon the ceiling, or some other part of the room, look out of the window, play with a dog, or twirl their snuffbox. Nothing discovers a little, 'futile, frivolous mind more than this, and nothing is so offensively ill-bred: it is an explicit declaration on your part, that ever the most trifling object deserves your attention more than all that can be said by the person who is speaking to you. Judge of the sentiments of hatred and resentment, which such treatment must excite in every breast where any degree of self-love dwells. I repeat it again and again, that sort of vanity and self-love is inseparable from human nature, whatever may be its rank or condition; even your footman will sooner forget and forgive a beating, than any manifest mark of flight and contempt. Be therefore, not only really, but seemingly and manifestly attentive to whoever speaks to you.

Never interrupt any speaker.

It is considered as the height of ill-manners to interrupt any person while speaking, by speaking yourself, or calling off the attention of the company to any new subject. This, however, every child knows.

Adopt, rather than give the subject.

Take, rather than give, the subject of the company you are in. If you have parts you will shew them, more or less upon every subject: and if you have not, you had better talk sillily upon a subject of other people's, than of your own choosing.

Conceal your learning from the company.

Never display your learning, but on particular occasions. Reserve it for learned men, and let even these rather extort it from you, than appear forward to display it. Hence you will be deemed modest, and reputed to possess more knowledge than you really have. Never seem wiser or more learned than your company. The man who affects to display his learning, will be frequently questioned; and if found superficial, will be ridiculed and despised; if otherwise, he will be deemed a pedant. Nothing can lessen real merit (which will always shew itself) in the opinion of the world, but an ostentatious display of it by its professor.

Contradict with politeness.

When you oppose or contradict any person's assertion or opinion, let your manner, your air, your terms, and your tone of voice be soft and gentle, and that easily and naturally, not affectedly. Use palliatives when you contradict; such as, „I may be mistaken; I am not sure, but I believe; I should rather think, etc.“ Finish any argument or dispute with some little good-humoured pleasantry, to shew that you are neither hurt yourselves, nor meant to hurt your antagonist; for an argument, kept up a good while, often occasions a temporary alienation on each side.

Avoid argument, if possible.

Avoid, as much as you can, in mixed companies, argumentative, polemical conversations; which certainly indispose, for a time, the contending parties towards each other; and, if the controversy grows warm and noisy, endeavour to put an end to it by some genteel levity or joke.

Always debate with temper.

Arguments should never be maintained with heat and clamour, though we believe or know ourselves to be in the right; we should give our opinions modestly and coolly, and if that will not do, endeavour to change the conversation, by saying, „We shall not be able to convince one

„another, nor is it necessary that we should, so let
„us talk of something else.“

Local propriety to be observed.

Remember that there is a local propriety to be observed in all companies; and that what is extremely proper in one company, may be, and often is, highly improper in another.

Jokes, Bons Mots, etc.

The jokes, Bons Mots, the little adventures which may do very well in one company, will seem flat and tedious when related in another. The particular characters, the habits, the cant of one company may give merit to a word, or a gesture, which would have none at all if divested of those accidental circumstances. Here people very commonly err; and fond of something that has entertained them in one company and in certain circumstances, repeat it with emphasis in another, where it is either insipid, or it may be, offensive, by being ill-timed, or misplaced. Nay, they often do it with this silly preamble: „I will tell you an excellent thing;“ or, „I will tell you the best thing in the world.“ This raises expectations, which when absolutely disappointed, make the relator of this excellent thing look, very deservedly, like a fool.

Egotism.

Upon all occasions avoid speaking of yourself if it be possible. Some, abruptly, speak advantageously

of themselves, without either pretence or provocation. This is down-right impudence. Others proceed more artfully, as they imagine; forming accusations against themselves and complaining of calumnies which they never heard, in order to justify themselves and exhibit a catalogue of their many virtues. „They acknowledge, indeed, it may appear „odd, that they should talk thus of themselves; it „is what they have a great aversion to, and what „they could not have done if they had not been „thus unjustly and scandalously abused.“ This thin veil of modesty drawn before vanity, is much too transparent to conceal it, even from those who have but a moderate share of penetration.

Others go to work more modestly and more slyly still; they confess themselves guilty of all the Cardinal Virtues, by first degrading them into weaknesses, and then acknowledging their misfortune in being made up of those weaknesses. „They „cannot see people labouring under misfortunes, „without sympathizing with, and endeavouring to „help them. They cannot see their fellow-creatures „in distress without relieving them; though, truly, „their circumstances cannot very well afford it. „They cannot avoid speaking the truth, though they „acknowledge it to be sometimes imprudent. In „short, they confess that, with all these weaknesses, „they are not fit to live in the world, much less to „prosper in it. But they are now too old to pursue

„a contrary conduct, and therefore they must rub
„on as well as they can.“

Though this may appear too ridiculous and
outré even for the stage, yet it is frequently met
with upon the common stage of the world. This
principle of vanity and pride is so strong in human
nature, that it descends even to the lowest objects;
and we often see people fishing for praise, where,
admitting all they say to be true, no just praise is
to be caught. One perhaps affirms, that he has
rode post an hundred miles in six hours: probably,
this is a falsehood; but, even supposing it to be
true, what then? Why it must be admitted that he
is a very good Post-boy, that is all. Another asserts,
perhaps not without a few oaths, that he has drunk
six or eight bottles of wine at a sitting. It would
be charitable to believe such a man a liar; for, if
we do not, we must certainly pronounce him a
beast.

There are thousand such follies and extrava-
gancies which vanity draws people into, and which
always defeat their own purpose. The only method
of avoiding these evils, is never to speak of our-
selves; but when, in a narrative we are obliged to
mention ourselves, we should take care not to drop
a single word that can directly, or indirectly, be
construed as fishing for applause. Be our characters
what they will, they will be known; and nobody will
take them upon our own words. Nothing that we can

say ourselves will varnish our defects, or add lustre to our perfections; but, on the contrary it will often make the former more glaring, and the latter obscure. If we are silent upon our own merits, neither envy, indignation, nor ridicule, will obstruct or allay the applause which we may really deserve. But, if we are our own panegyrists upon any occasion, however artfully dressed or disguised, every one will conspire against us, and we shall be disappointed of the very end we aim at.

Be not dark nor mysterious.

Take care never to seem dark and mysterious; which is not only a very unamiable character, but a very suspicious one too: if you seem mysterious with others, they will be really so with you, and you will know nothing. The height of abilities is, to have a frank, open, and ingenious exterior, with a prudent and reserved interior; to be upon your own guard, and yet, by a seeming natural openness, to put people off of theirs. The majority of every company will avail themselves, of every indiscreet and unguarded expression of yours, if they can turn it to their own advantage.

Look people in the face when speaking.

Always look people in the face when you speak to them; the not doing it is thought to imply conscious guilt; besides that you lose the advantage of observing, by their countenances, what impression your discourse makes upon them. In order to

know people's real sentiments, I trust much more to my eyes than to my ears; for they can say whatever they have a mind I should hear; but they can seldom help looking what they have no intention that I should know.

Mimickry.

Mimickry, which is the common and favourite amusement of little, low minds, is in the utmost contempt with great ones. It is the lowest and most illiberal of all buffoonery. We should neither practise it, nor applaud it in others. Besides that, the person mimicked is insulted; and, as I have often observed to you before, an insult is never forgiven.

Swearing.

We may frequently hear some people in good company, interlard their conversation with oaths by way of embellishment, as they suppose; but we must observe too, that those who do so, are never those who contribute, in any degree, to give that company the denomination of good company. They are generally people of low education; for swearing, without having a single temptation to plead, is as silly, and as illiberal, as it is wicked.

Sneering.

Whatever we say, in company, if we say it with a supercilious, Cynical face or an embarrassed

countenance, or a silly disconcerted grin, it will be ill received. If we mutter it, or utter it indistinctly, and ungracefully, it will be still worse received.

Talk not of your own nor other person's private affairs.

Never talk of your own or other people's domestic affairs; yours are nothing to them, but tedious, theirs are nothing to you. It is a tender subject, and it is a chance if you do not touch somebody or other's sore place. In this case, there is no trusting to specious appearances, which are often too contrary to the real situation of things between men and their wives, parents and their children, seeming friends, etc. that, with the best intentions of the world, we very often make some very disagreeable blunders.

Explicitness.

Nothing makes a man look sillier, in company, than a joke or pleasantry not relished, or not understood; and if he meets with a profound silence when he expected a general applause; or, what is still worse, if he is desired to explain the joke or Bon Mot, his awkward and embarrassed situation is easier imagined than described.

Secrecy.

Be careful how you repeat in one company what you hear in another. Things seemingly in-

different may, by circulation, have much graver consequences than may be imagined. There is a kind of general tacit trust in conversation, by which a man is engaged not to report any thing out of it, though he is not immediately enjoined secrecy. A retailer of this kind draws himself into a thousand scrapes and discussions, and is shily and indifferently received wherever he goes.

Adapt your conversation to the company.

Always adapt your conversation to the people you are conversing with; for I suppose you would not talk upon the same subject, and in the same manner, to a bishop, a philosopher, a captain, and a woman.

Never suppose yourself the subject or laugh of the company.

People of an ordinary low education, when they happen to fall into good company, imagine themselves the only object of its attention: if the company whispers, it is, to be sure, concerning them; if they laugh, it is at them; and if any thing ambiguous, that by the most forced interpretation can be applied to them, happens to be said, they are convinced that it was meant at them; upon which they grow out of countenance first, and then angry. This mistake is very well ridiculed in the stratagem, where scrub says, „I am sure they talked „of me, for they laughed consumedly.“ A well-bred

man thinks, but never seems to think, himself slighted, undervalued, or laughed at in company, unless where it is so plainly marked out, that his honour obliges him to resent it in a proper manner. On the contrary, a vulgar man is captious and jealous, eager and impetuous about trifles. He suspects himself to be slighted, thinks every thing that is said meant at him: if the company happens to laugh, he is persuaded they laugh at him; he grows angry and testy, says something very impertinent, and draws himself into a scrape, by shewing what he calls a proper spirit, and asserting himself. The conversation of a vulgar man also always favours strongly of the lowness of his education and company. It turns chiefly upon his domestic affairs, his servants, the excellent order he keeps in his own family and the little anecdotes of the neighbourhood; all which he relates with emphasis, as interesting matters. He is a man gossip.

Seriousness.

A certain degree of exterior seriousness in looks and motions gives dignity, without excluding wit and decent cheerfulness. A constant smirk upon the face, and a whiffling activity of the body, are strong indications of futility.

Good Breeding.

Good-breeding has been very justly defined to be „the result of much good sense, some good-nature, and a little self-denial for the sake of others, „and with a view to obtain the same indulgence „from them.“

Good-breeding alone can prepossess people in our favour at first sight: more time being necessary to discover greater talents. Good-breeding, however, does not consist in low bows, and formal ceremony, but in an easy, civil, and respectable behaviour.

Indeed, good sense, in many cases, must determine good-breeding; for what would be civil at one time, and to one person, would be rude at another time, and to another person: there are, however, some general rules of good breeding. As for example: To answer only yes, or no, to any person, without adding Sir, My Lord, or Madam, (as it may happen) is always extremely rude; and it is equally so not to give proper attention and a civil answer, when spoken to: such behaviour convinces the person who is speaking to us, that we despise him, and do not think him worthy of our attention, or an answer.

A well-bred person will take care to answer with complaisance when he is spoken to; will place himself at the lower end of the table, unless bid to go higher; will first drink to the lady of the house,

and then to the master; he will not eat awkwardly or dirtily, nor sit when others stand; and he will do all this with an air of complaisance, and not with a grave ill-natured look, as if he did it all unwillingly.

There is nothing more difficult to attain, or so necessary to possess, as perfect good-breeding; which is equally inconsistent with a stiff formality, an impertinent forwardness, and an awkward bashfulness. A little ceremony is sometimes necessary, a certain degree of firmness is absolutely so: and an awkward modesty is extremely unbecoming.

Virtue and learning, like gold, have their intrinsic value; but, if they are not polished, they certainly lose a great deal of their lustre: and even polished brass will pass upon more people than rough gold. What a number of sins does the cheerful, easy, good-breeding of the French frequently cover!

My Lord Bacon says, „That a pleasing figure „is a perpetual letter of recommendation.“ It is certainly an agreeable fore-runner of merit, and smoothes the way for it.

A man of good breeding should be acquainted with the forms and particular customs of Courts. At Vienna, men always make courtesies, instead of bows, to the Emperour; in France, nobody bows

to the King, or kisses his hand; but, in Spain and England, bows are made, and hands are kissed. Thus every Court has some peculiarity, which those who visit them ought previously to inform themselves of, to avoid blunders and awkwardnesses.

Very few, scarcely any, are wanting in the respect which they should shew to those whom they acknowledge to be infinitely their superiours. The man of fashion, and of the world, expresses it in its fullest extent; but naturally easily, and without concern: whereas a man, who is not used to keep good company, expresses it awkwardly: one sees that he is not used to, and that it costs him a great deal; but I never saw the worst-bred man living, guilty of lolling, whistling, scratching his head, and such-like indecencies, in company that he respected. In such companies, therefore, the only point to be attended to is, to shew that respect, which every body means to shew, in an easy, unembarrassed, and graceful manner.

In mixed companies, whoever is admitted to make part of them, is, for the time at least, supposed to be upon a footing of equality with the rest; and consequently, every one claims, and very justly, every mark of civility and good-breeding. Ease is allowed, but carelessness and negligence are strictly forbidden. If a man accosts you, and talks to you ever so dully or frivolously; it is worse than rudeness, it is brutality, to shew him, by a manifest inatten-

tion to what he says, that you think him a fool or a blockhead, and not worth hearing. It is much more so with regard to women; of whatever rank they are, are intitled, in consideration of their sex, not only to an attentive, but an officious good-breeding from men. Their little wants, likings, dislikes, preferences, antipathies, fancies, whims, and even impertinencies, must be officiously attended to, flattered, and, if possible, guessed at and anticipated, by a well-bred man. You must never usurp to yourself those conveniencies and agrémens which are of common right; such as the best places, the best dishes etc.; but on the contrary, always, decline them yourself, and offer them to others; who, in their turns, will offer them to you; so that, upon the whole, you will, in your turn, enjoy your share of common right.

The third sort, of good-breeding is local, and is variously modified, in not only different countries, but in different towns of the same country. But it must be founded upon the two former sorts; they are the matter, to which, in this case, Fashion and Custom only give the different shapes and impressions. Whoever has the two first sorts, will easily acquire this third sort of good-breeding, which depends singly upon attention and observation. It is properly the polish, the lustre, the last finishing strokes of good-breeding. A man of sense therefore, carefully attends to the local manners of the respective places where he is, and takes for his mo-

dels those persons whom he observes to be at the head of the fashion and good-breeding. He watches how they address themselves to their superiours, how they accost their equals, and how they treat their inferiours; and lets none of those little niceties escape him; which are to good-breeding, what the last delicate and masterly touches are to a good picture, and which the vulgar have no notion of, but by which good judges distinguish the master. He attends even to their air, dress, and motions, and imitates them liberally, and not servilely; he copies, but does not mimick. These personal graces are of very great consequence. Their effects were so surprising, that they were reckoned supernatural.

In short, as it is necessary to possess learning, honour, and virtue, to gain the esteem and admiration of mankind, so politeness and good-breeding are equally necessary to render us agreeable in conversation, and common life. Great talents are above the generality of the world, who neither possess them themselves, nor are competent judges of them in others: but all are judges of the lesser talents, such as civility, affability, and an agreeable address and manner; because they feel the good effects of them, as making society easy and agreeable.

To conclude, be assured that the profoundest learning, without good-breeding, is unwelcome and

tiresome pedantry; that a man, who is not perfectly well-bred, is unfit for good-company, and unwelcome in it; and that a man, who is not well-bred, is full as unfit for business as for company.

Make, then, good-breeding the great object of your thoughts and actions. Observe carefully the behaviour and manners of those who are distinguished by their good-breeding; imitate, nay, endeavour to excel that you may at least reach them; and be convinced that good-breeding is, to all worldly qualifications, what charity is to all christian virtues. Observe how it adorns merit, and how often it covers the want of it.

Graces.

Address.

A man's fortune is frequently decided for ever by his first address. If it is pleasing, people are hurried involuntarily into a persuasion that he has a merit, which possibly he has not; as on the other hand, if it is ungraceful, they are immediately prejudiced against him, and unwilling to allow him the merit which, it may be, he has. The worst-bred man in Europe, should a Lady drop her fan, would certainly take it up and give it to her: the best-bred man in Europe could do no more. The

difference, however, would be considerable; the latter would please by his graceful address in presenting it; the former would be laughed at for doing it awkwardly. The carriage of a gentleman should be genteel, and his motions graceful. He should be particularly careful of his manner and address, when he presents himself in company. Let them be respectful without meanness, easy without too much familiarity, genteel without affection, and insinuating without any seeming art or design.

Choice of amusements.

A gentleman always attends even to the choice of his amusements. If at cards he will not play at cribbage, all-fours, or put; or in sports of exercise, be seen at skittles, foot-ball, leap-frog, cricket, driving of coaches, etc. for he knows that such an imitation of the manners of the Mob, will indelibly stamp him with vulgarity. I cannot likewise avoid calling playing upon any musical instrument illiberal in a gentleman. Music is usually reckoned one of the liberal arts, and not unjustly; but a man of fashion who is seen piping or fiddling at a concert degrades his own dignity. If you love music, hear it; pay fiddlers to play to you, but never fiddle yourself. It makes a gentleman appear frivolous and contemptible, leads him frequently into bad company, and wastes that time which might otherwise be well employed.

Carving.

However trifling some things may seem, they are no longer so, when above half the world thinks them otherwise. Carving, as it occurs at least once in every day, is not below our notice. We should use ourselves to carve adroitly and genteelly, without hacking half an hour across a bone, without bespattering the company with the sauce, and without overturning the glasses into your neighbour's pockets. To be awkward in this particular, is extremely disagreeable and ridiculous. It is easily avoided by a little attention and use.

Cleanliness.

The person should be accurately clean; the teeth, hands, and nails, should be particularly so . . .

These things may, perhaps, appear too insignificant to be mentioned; but when it is remembered that a thousand little nameless things, which every one feels but no one can describe, conspire to form that whole of pleasing, I think we ought not to call them trifling. Besides, a clean shirt and a clean person are as necessary to health, as not to offend other people. I have ever held it as a maxim, and which I have lived to see verified, That a man who is negligent at twenty, will be a floven at forty, and intolerable at fifty years of age.

Compliments.

Attend to the compliments of congratulation, or condolence, that you hear a well-bred man make to his superiours, to his equals, and to his inferiours; watch even his countenance and his tone of voice, for they all conspire in the main point of pleasing.

Diction.

There is a certain language of conversation, a fashionable diction, of which every gentleman ought to be perfectly master, in whatever language he speaks. The French attend to it carefully, and with great reason; and their language, which is a language of phrases, helps them out exceedingly. That delicacy of diction is characteristical of a man of fashion and good company.

Dress and Dancing.

Dress is one of the various ingredients that contribute to the art of pleasing, and therefore an object of some attention; for we cannot help forming some opinion of a man's sense and character from his dress. All affectation in dress, implies a flaw in the understanding. Men of sense carefully avoid any particular character in their dress; they are accurately clean for their own sake, but all the rest is for the sake of other people. A man should dress as well, and in the same manner, as the people of sense and fashion of the place where he is: if he dresses more than they, he is a fop; if he

dresses less, he is unpardonably negligent: but, of the two, a young fellow should be rather too much than too little dressed; the excess of that side will wear off, with a little age and reflection.

The difference in dress between a man and a fop, is, that the fop values himself upon his dress; and the man of sense laughs at it, at the same time that he knows he must not neglect it. There are a thousand foolish customs of this kind, which, as they are not criminal, must be complied with, and even cheerfully, by men of sense. Diogenes the Cynic was a wise man for despising them, but a fool for shewing it.

We should not attempt to rival, or to excel a fop in dress, but it is necessary to dress to avoid singularity, and ridicule. Great care should be taken to be always dressed like the reasonable people of our own age in the place where we are, whose dress is never spoken of one way or another, as neither too negligent, or too much studied.

When we are once well-dressed for the day, we should think no more of it afterwards; and, without any stiffness for fear of discomposing that dress we should be as easy and natural as if we had no clothes on at all.

Dancing, likewise, though a silly trifling thing, is one of those established follies which people of

sense are sometimes obliged to conform to; and if they do, they should be able to perform it well.

In dancing, the motion of the arms should be particularly attended to, as these decide a man's being genteel or otherwise, more than any other part of the body. A twist or stiffness in the wrist will make any man look awkward. If a man dances well from the waist upwards, wears his hat well and moves his head properly, he dances well. Coming into a room, and presenting yourself to a company should be also attended to, as this always gives the first impression, which is often indelible. Those who present themselves well, have a certain dignity in their air, which, without the least seeming mixture of pride, at once engages and is respected.

Drinking of healths.

Drinking of healths is now growing out of fashion, and is deemed unpolite in good company. Custom once had rendered it universal, but the improved manners of the age now consider it as absurd and vulgar. What can be more rude or ridiculous than to interrupt persons at their meals with an unnecessary compliment? Abstain then from this silly custom where you find it disused, and use it only at those tables where it continues general.

Assurance.

A steady assurance is too often improperly styled impudence. For my part, I see no impudence, but on the contrary, infinite utility and advantage, in presenting one's self with the same coolness and unconcern, in any, and every company: till one can do that, I am very sure that one can never present one's self well. Whatever is done under concern and embarrassment, must be ill done; and, till a man is absolutely easy and unconcerned in every company, he will never be thought to have kept good, nor be very welcome in it. Assurance and intrepidity, under the white banner of seeming modesty, clear the way to merit, that would otherwise be discouraged by difficulties in its journey; whereas barefaced impudence is the noisy and blustering harbinger of a worthless and senseless usurper.

Hurry.

A Man of sense may be in haste, but can never be in a hurry, because he knows, that whatever he does in a hurry he must necessarily do very ill. He may be in haste to dispatch an affair, but he will take care not to let that haste hinder his doing it well. Little minds are in a hurry, when the object proves (as it commonly does) too big for them; they run, they hare, they puzzle, confound and perplex themselves; they want to do every thing at once, and never do it at all. But a man of sense

takes the time necessary for doing the thing he is about well; and his haste to dispatch a business only appears by the continuity of his application to it: he pursues it with a cool steadiness, and finishes it before he begins any other.

Laughter.

Frequent and loud laughter is the characteristic of folly and ill-manners: it is the manner in which the mob express their silly yoy at silly things; and they call it being merry. In my mind, there is nothing so illiberal, and so ill-bred, as audible laughter. True wit, or sense, never yet made any body laugh; they are above it: they please the mind, and give a cheerfulness to the countenance. But it is low buffoonery, or silly accidents, that always excite laughter; and that is what people of sense and breeding should shew themselves above.

Many people, at first from awkwardness, have got a very silly and disagreeable trick of laughing whenever they speak: and I know men of very good parts, who cannot say the commonest thing without laughing; which makes those who do not know them, take them at first for natural fools.

Letter-Writing.

It is of the utmost importance to write letters well; as this is a talent which daily occurs, as well in business as in pleasure: and inaccuracies in or-

thography, or in style, are never pardoned but in ladies, nor is it hardly pardonable in them. The Epistles of Cicero are the most perfect models of good-writing.

Letters should be easy and natural, and convey to the persons to whom we send them, just what we would say to those persons if we were present with them.

The best models of Letter-Writing are Cicero, Cardinal d'Ossat, Madame Sevigné, and Comte Buffy Rabutin. Cicero's Epistles to Atticus, and to his familiar friends are the best examples in the friendly and familiar style. The simplicity and clearness of the Letters of Cardinal d'Ossat, shew how letters of business ought to be written. For gay and amusing letters, there are none that equal Comte Buffy's, and Madame Sevigné's. They are so natural, that they seem to be the extempore conversations of two people of wit, rather than letters.

Neatness in folding up, sealing, and directing letters, is by no means to be neglected. There is something in the exterior, even of a letter, that may please or displease, and consequently deserves some attention.

Nick-name.

There is nothing that a young man at his first appearance in the world, has more reason to dread,

and therefore should take more pains to avoid, than having any ridicule fixed on him. In the opinion even of the most rational men, it will degrade him, but ruin him with the rest. Many a man has been undone by acquiring a ridiculous nick-name. The causes of nick-names among well-bred men, are generally the little defects in manner, elocution, air or address. To have the appellation of muttering, awkward, ill-bred, absent, annexed always to your name, would injure you more than you imagine; avoid then these little defects, and you may set ridicule at defiance.

Pronunciation and speaking.

To acquire a graceful utterance, read aloud to some friend every day, and beg of him to interrupt and correct you when you read too fast, do not observe the proper stops, lay a wrong emphasis, or utter your words unintelligibly. You may even read aloud to yourself, and tune your utterance to your own ear. Take care to open your teeth when you read or speak, and articulate every word distinctly; which last cannot be done but by sounding the final letter. But above all, study to vary your voice according to the subject, and avoid a monotony. Daily attention to these articles will, in a little time, render them easy and habitual to you.

The voice and manner of speaking, too, are not to be neglected: some people almost shut their

mouths when they speak, and mutter so, that they are not to be understood; others speak so fast, and sputter, that they are not to be understood neither: some always speak as if they were talking to deaf people, and others so low, that one cannot hear them. All these habits are awkward and disagreeable, and are to be avoided by attention: they are the distinguishing marks of the ordinary people, who have had no care taken of their education. You cannot imagine how necessary it is to mind all these little things; for I have seen many people, with great talents, ill-received, for want of having these talents; and others well received, only from their little talents and who had no great ones.

Spelling.

Orthography, or spelling well, is so absolutely necessary for a man of letters, or a gentleman, that one false spelling may fix a ridicule on him for the remainder of his life. Reading carefully will contribute, in a great measure, to preserve you from exposing yourself by false spelling; for books are generally well-spelled, according to the orthography of the times. Sometimes words, indeed, are spelled differently by different authors, but those instances are rare; and where there is only one way of spelling a word, should you spell it wrong, you will be sure to be ridiculed.

Style.

Style is the dress of thoughts; and let them be ever so just, if your style is homely, coarse, and vulgar, they will appear to as much disadvantage, and be as ill received, as your person, though ever so well proportioned, would, if dressed in rags, dirt, and tatters. It is not every understanding that can judge of matter; but every ear can and does judge, more or less, of style.

Mind your diction, in whatever language you either write or speak; contract a habit of correctness and elegance. Consider your style, even in the freest conversation, and most familiar letters. After, at least, if not before you have said a thing, reflect if you could not have said it better.

Writing.

Every man who has the use of his eyes and his right hand, can write whatever hand he pleases. Nothing is so ungentleman-like as a school-boy's scrawl. I do not desire you to write a stiff formal hand, like that of a school-master, but a genteel, legible and liberal character, and to be able to write quick. As to the correctness and elegance of your writing, attention to grammar does the one, and to the best authors the other. Epistolary correspondence should be easy and natural, and convey to the persons just what we would say if we were with them.

Caution against sundry odd habits.

Humming a tune within ourselves, drumming with our fingers, making a noise with our feet, and such awkward habits, being all breaches of good manners, are therefore indications of our contempt for the persons present, and consequently should not be practised.

Eating very quick, or very slow, is characteristic of vulgarity; the former infers poverty; the latter, if abroad, that you are disgusted with your entertainment; and if at home, that you are rude enough to give your friends what you cannot eat yourself. If you dislike what is sent upon your plate, leave it; but never by smelling to, or examining it, appear to tax your friend with placing unwholesome provisions before you.

Spitting on the floor or carpet is a filthy practice, and which, were it to become general, would render it as necessary to change the carpets as the table-clothes. Not to add, it will induce our acquaintance to suppose that we have not been used to genteel furniture; for which reason alone, if for no other, a man of liberal education should avoid it.

To conclude this article: Never walk fast in the streets, which is a mark of vulgarity, ill-befitting the character of a gentleman or a man of fashion, though it may be tolerable in a tradesman.

To stare any person full in the face, whom you may chance to meet, is an act also of ill-breeding; it would seem to bespeak as if you saw something wonderful in his appearance, and is therefore a tacit reprehension.

Keep yourself free, likewise, from all odd tricks or habits; such as thrusting out your tongue, snapping your fingers, biting your nails, rubbing your hands, sighing aloud, an affected shivering of your body, gaping, and many others, which I have noticed before; all which are imitations of the manners of the mob, and degrading to a gentleman.

VI.

Public Characters.

Vol. I.

William Pitt. By J. W***.

William Pitt, the illustrious Earl of Chatham, had three sons, of whom, the present minister, is the youngest. He was born May 8. 1759, at a time when his father's glory was at its zenith; and when, in consequence of the wisdom of his councils, and the vigour and promptitude of his decisions, British valour reigned triumphant in every part of the globe.

On the accession of his present majesty, that great statesman, in consequence of new arrangements, chiefly occasioned by the rising influence of the Earl of Bute, retired from the station which he had so honourably filled; and consigning his other sons to the care of others, he devoted his own time to the education of William, on a strong and well-founded persuasion (as he was in the habit of saying)

that „he would one day encrease the glory of the name of Pitt.“

His classical knowledge Mr. Pitt acquired under the care of a private tutor at Burton-Pynsent, the seat of his father; and the Earl took great pleasure in teaching him, while still a youth, to argue with logical precision, and to speak with elegance and force. He judiciously accustomed him to the practice of making accurate enquiries respecting every subject that caught his attention, and taught him not to remain satisfied with a superficial observation of appearances.

These lessons brought him into an early practice of cool and patient investigation, rarely, if ever, acquired by those who prefer the trappings of eloquence, and the showy ornaments of language, to plain sober diction, and pertinent matter of fact.

Under such an able paternal guide, an acute mind could not fail to imbibe a store of sound practical knowledge. The earl, with his usual perspicacity, fancied he saw in his son a future statesman, and, in all probability, a future minister of his country also. It was a laudable ambition in a father, and to gratify it he spared no exertions; directing his whole attention to the great object of rendering his son accomplished in all things requisite to form a public character, and to preserve

the lustre already attached to the name of William Pitt.

He, himself, frequently entered into disputations with him, and encouraged him to converse with others, upon subjects far above what could be expected from his years. In the management of these arguments, his father would never cease to press him with difficulties; nor would he permit him to stop, till the subject of contention was completely exhausted. By being inured to this method, the son acquired that quality which is of the first consequence in public life — a sufficient degree of firmness, and presence of mind, as well as a ready delivery, to which he was wonderfully aided both by nature and education.

That he might enjoy all the benefits of instruction which this country could give him, and, at the same time, by a rapid progress in the preliminary studies, qualify himself early for the senate, he was taken, at between fourteen and fifteen years of age, from his father's roof, and the care of a very enlightened and worthy clergyman, Mr. (now Dr.) Wilson, and sent to Pembroke-College, Cambridge, where he was admitted under the tuition of Messrs. Turner and Prettyman, both very able men, and willing to second, to the utmost of their power, the intentions of his father. Mr Prettyman was also his private instructor, and a better choice could not have been made, as far as classical and

mathematical knowledge were concerned. For eloquence he could not look up to either of his instructors, but his father's example and precepts required no further assistance on that head.

In Cambridge he became a model to the young nobility and fellow-commoners; and it was not doubted that if the privileges of his rank had not exempted him from the usual exercises for the bachelor's degree, he would have been found among the first competitors for academical honours. On his admission, according to custom, to his master's degree, the public orator found it needless to search into his genealogy, or even to dwell much upon the virtues of his father, for the eyes of the university were fixed on the youth; the enraptured audience assented to every encomium, and each breast was filled with the liveliest presages of future greatness. To the honour of Mr. Pitt it must be spoken, that he has been duly sensible of the care taken of his rising years. His tutors have received repeated marks of his acknowledgment. Dr. Wilson, his first instructor, is now Canon of Windsor; and one of his sons has a lucrative sinecure in Jamaica. The worthy Dr. Turner is Dean of Norwich; Dr. Prettyman has received the Bishopric of Lincoln, and the Deanry of St Paul's, and will, doubtless, not be overlooked in future promotions.

Mr. Pitt was afterwards entered a student of Lincoln's Inn, and made so rapid a progress in his

legal studies, as to be soon called to the bar, with every prospect of success.

We are informed, that he once or twice went upon the Western circuit, and appeared as junior counsel in several causes. He was, however, destined to fill a more important station in the government of his country, than is usually obtained through the channel of the law.

At the general election, 1780, we find him nominated by some of the most respectable persons in Cambridge as a candidate to represent that university; but notwithstanding the high character he had obtained there, he found very few to second his pretensions. In the following year, however, he was returned for the borough of Appleby, by the interest of Sir James Lowther. On taking his seat in the House of Commons, he enlisted himself on the side of the party which had constantly opposed the minister, Lord North, and the American war, and which regarded him with a degree of veneration; recognising in his person the genius of his illustrious father revived and acting, as it were, in him. His first speech was in favour of Mr. Burke's bill; and one of the first acts, in which he took the lead in that House, was extremely well calculated to increase his popularity; this was his motion for a committee, to consult upon the most effectual means to accomplish a more equal representation of the people in parliament. His propositions were, indeed, rejected;

but he continued to repeat and renew them from time to time; and thus kept up the public attention to this great object, which was, consequently, more generally convulsed than it ever had been before.

On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the old Whig party fell into a state of disunion, nearly bordering upon dissolution. A new arrangement took place soon after, and Lord Shelburne became the first Lord of the Treasury, assisted by Mr. Pitt, who astonished the country, and, indeed, all Europe, by the phenomenon of a Chancellor of the Exchequer at the age of twenty-three!

His popularity at this period effectually screened him from every charge which his youth and inexperience might justly have warranted, and which were strongly urged against him by the adverse faction. The situation of the country was extremely critical. The American war had become generally odious; and all hearts panted for a cessation of hostilities. This desirable object was, therefore, the first consideration with the new ministry.

The combined powers had recently experienced great humiliations, and consequently the opportunity was not to be lost. A general peace accordingly took place; but the terms of it were reprobated by a considerable part of the nation. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt delivered a most masterly defence of himself and his colleagues, which produced a corresponding,

though not successful effect. The administration, of which he was one of the most distinguished members, was, therefore, short-lived. On its dissolution, the young statesman withdrew into retirement, and afterwards went abroad for some time, visiting Italy, and several of the German courts.

On the coalition-ministry coming into place, Mr. Mansfield's seat for the university became vacant, by accepting the office of solicitor-general, and Mr. Pitt determined to oppose him: with this view he went down to Cambridge; but was treated with contempt, by the heads and senior members. One almost threw the door in his face, and wondered at the impudence of the young man, thus to come down and disturb the peace of the university! From such a scene he retired in a few days, in disgust; though the assurances of support from several independent masters of arts, kept alive the scanty hopes of future success. A few months, however, changed the scene; the coalition-ministry was thrown out, he repaired in triumph to the university, was received with open arms, carried his election by means of a considerable majority, and was able, also, by his influence, to make Lord Euston his colleague. For a time, the tergiversation of the senate was a theme of conversation; the most notorious of the gown who had changed sides were marked by the contempt of the unsuccessful, but they laughed at their own disgrace, being gratified

by the rewards of the successful candidates; mitres, and stalls, and livings, became the portion of the Cambridge men. But few of the independent masters, who would have supported him when out of power, and did so on his accession to the ministry, were to be found among his voters at the next election; they considered him as having receded from those principles of liberty, on which he had first acted; for he had now become cool in his zeal for that reform of parliament, which had, in conjunction with his great talents, first entitled him to their notice.

An occasion, as we have just remarked, suddenly offered, in 1784, for bringing Mr. Pitt forward once more on the great theatre of politics, as a candidate for fame and power. The British dominions in India had long been in an alarming situation, and it was generally admitted that an immediate remedy was indispensably necessary to preserve them. With this view, Mr. Fox, then Secretary of State, formed, digested, and brought forward his famous India bill, which he carried through its several stages with a high hand.

The coalition-ministry, composed of such an heterogeneous mixture, notwithstanding their majority in the House of Commons, were generally obnoxious to the nation, and this measure was particularly offensive to the great body whom it immediately affected. Lord North and his new allies were ac-

cordingly dismissed, and that too in a very unconstitutional manner, and Mr. Pitt, the new Premier, was assisted by the advice of Lord Thurlow, as keeper of the great seal — arrangements which, at that time, were, however only considered as temporary!

He now astonished the commercial and political world, by his own India bill! He had, however, the mortification to find the majority of the House of Commons against him, and he was placed in the particular situation of a minister acting with a minority, and that too in opposition to the strongest conflux of talents ever combined against any administration. He, however, remained firm in his seat amidst a general confusion; and though the House had petitioned his Majesty, to dismiss him and his coadjutors, our young Premier ventured to inform the representatives of the nation that their petition could not be complied with!

This struggle between the Commons and the Crown was of the greatest importance; but the people, at large, were of opinion, that the former encroached upon the regal prerogatives; and on the question being, in a manner, thrown into their hands by a dissolution of Parliament, a new one was returned, which changed the majority, and preserved the Premier in a post which he has sturdily maintained ever since!

Various public measures have, of course, during a period of fourteen years, been brought forward by this active minister; to notice which, would far exceed the bounds of a memoir, so limited in its object, as the present. They are incorporated in the history of his country, and at present familiarly recollected by his contemporaries.

The commercial treaty with France was a bold scheme, and evinced deep political and mercantile knowledge. But the most critical circumstance in the annals of Mr. Pitt's administration, and that on which his biographer should dwell the most, is the period when the regal powers were, in a manner, unhappily suspended, and all the wisdom of the legislature was required to form a regency. It was a crisis not only novel, but of extreme magnitude, as likely to become the precedent for future times; no such incident having, till then, occurred in the annals of our history.

Some statesmen would have worshipped the rising sun; Mr. Pitt, and his colleagues, however, pursued a different course, and thereby added greatly to their popularity, and effectually secured themselves in power.

But if, on some occasions, he has courted the favour of the people, he certainly has not always sacrificed at their shrine. He appears, indeed, to have a proper conception of the value in which

popular esteem is to be held, but to be sensible, at the same time, that it ought not to influence the conduct of a legislator, if evidently repugnant to the true interests of the country.

When the revolution took place in France, the situation of the prime minister of this kingdom became once more extremely critical.

The aspect of Europe has assumed a new face, since the monarchy of France was shaken from its ancient basis. A war has ensued totally different from all former wars. In judging, therefore, of the merits of those who are concerned in managing the affairs of the nation, it is impossible to have recourse either to precedents, or to old political principles. A new mode of action, a new scheme of politics, was to be devised, and adapted to the existing circumstances.

If any merit be due to boldness of invention, to vigour of execution, to wide extension of plans, and to firmness and perseverance of conduct, certainly the present administration has an undoubted claim to public gratitude; it must, however, be allowed, that they are accused of having trenched more than once on the liberties of the people.

An attention to commerce has greatly distinguished Mr. Pitt's administration, particularly during the present contest. Perhaps there is no man in

the kingdom better acquainted with the principles of trade than he is. The oldest, and most experienced merchants have been astonished at his readiness in conversing with them upon subjects of which they thought themselves exclusively masters. Many who have waited upon him in full confidence that they should communicate some new and important information, have, to their great surprise, found him minutely and intimately acquainted with all those points to which they conceived he was a stranger. By the close attention which he has uniformly paid to the mercantile interests, he has also secured to himself an exclusive basis of support, which has enabled him not only to resist a most vigorous opposition, but to carry into effect financial measures until his time deemed impracticable.

Some men have charged him with political tergiversation, on the ground of having abandoned, if not opposed, the project of a parliamentary reform. If he really considers such a reform as no longer necessary, it will not be difficult to exonerate him from this heavy accusation. But there certainly is a great difference between absolute apostacy, and an occasional cessation from a particular system of opinions or line of conduct. It does not follow that Mr. Pitt is an enemy to necessary reform, because he considers the existing circumstances of the country as too critical to admit the trial of the experiment.

As a public speaker, the minister is not to be characterized by over-strained parallels, drawn from the orators of antiquity. He possesses rather the elegance and grace of Cicero, than the fire of Demosthenes. He displays, however, more of the acute logician, than of the persuasive rhetorician; but his voice, though clear and powerful, possesses not those modulations that charm the ear, and steal upon the heart. His deficiencies, however, are more than counterbalanced by a conclusive and forcible method of reasoning, added to a facility of stating his arguments, which makes them not only conceivable to the meanest understanding, but gives them frequently a precision and vigour which may be pronounced irresistible.

The Premier also possesses an advantage of inestimable value, in a minister of state, namely, a great command over his temper, added to much coolness, during the ardour of debate.

This enables him to reply clearly and particularly to the arguments of his opponents, and to defend his cause, by often turning their own weapons upon themselves. Though he is confident, and, frequently, it must be confessed, even arrogant, in his speeches, which sometimes provokes the opposition orators to use harsh language, yet he seldom loses his own temper, or retorts in anger.

His action is not strictly graceful, which is, in some measure owing to the disadvantage of an exterior, which however dignified, is yet not engaging; for he is very tall, and deficient in embonpoint. His countenance is also severe and forbidding, expressive, indeed (in the language of physiognomists) of a capacious mind, and inflexible resolution; but also of a too lofty, and, perhaps, unbending spirit.

Mr. Pitt forms, in all points, a direct contrast to his political opponent: and it is certainly a curious circumstance, that two such extraordinary men should be as opposite in their private characters, as in their public career. In debate, Mr. Fox is vehement, Mr. Pitt cool. The one is frank and open, the other close and reserved. The urbanity of the exminister gains him friends, among all parties; the hauteur and sang froid of the Premier, does not conciliate even his associates.

Mr. Pitt is the same guarded and unbending politician in his social hours, that he is in the House of Commons.

In private life, his sole pleasures are of an official and convivial nature.

Ambition is the ruling passion of his soul, before which every other sinks into insignificance; and at the shrine of this goddess, and at that of

Bacchus, he is supposed alone to pay his devotions. That health and talents may not suffer by the latter, and that his country may prosper under the influence of the former, is the earnest wish of the writer of this article.

VII.

Tristram Shandy, by Sterne.

Vol. VI. chap. 6.

The Story of Le Fevre.

It was some time in the summer of that year in which Dendermond was taken by the allies, — which was about seven years before my father came in the country, — and about as many after the time that my uncle Toby and Trim had privately decamped from my father's house in town, in order to lay some of the finest sieges to some of the finest fortified cities in Europe — when my uncle Toby was one evening getting his supper, with Trim sitting behind him at a small side-board, — I say, sitting — for in consideration of the corporal's lame knee (which sometimes gave him exquisite pain) — when my uncle Toby dined or supped alone, he would never suffer the corporal to stand; and the poor fellow's veneration for his master was such, that, with a proper artillery, my uncle Toby could have taken Dendermond itself,

with less trouble than he was able to gain this point over him; for many a time when my uncle Toby supposed the corporal's leg was at rest, he would look back, and detect him standing behind him with the most dutiful respect: this bred more little squabbles betwixt them, than all other causes for five — and — twenty years together — But this is neither here nor there — why do I mention it? — Ask my pen, — it governs me, — I govern not it.

He was one evening sitting thus at his supper, when the landlord of a little inn in the village came into the parlour with an empty phial in his hand to beg a glass or two of sack; 'Tis for a poor gentleman, — I think of the army, said the landlord, who has been taken ill at my house four days ago, and has never held up his head since, or had a desire to taste any thing, 'till just now, that he has a fancy for a glass of sack and a thin toast, — I think, says he, taking his hand from his forehead, it would comfort me. —

— If I could neither beg, borrow, nor buy such a thing, — added the landlord, — I would almost steal it for the poor gentleman, he is so ill. I hope in God he will still mend, continued he — we are all concerned for him.

Thou art a good-natured soul, I will answer for thee, cried my uncle Toby; and thou shalt

drink the poor gentleman's health in a glass of sack thyself, — and take a couple of bottles, with my service, and tell him he is heartily welcome to them, and to a dozen more, if they will do him good.

Though I am persuaded, said my uncle Toby, as the landlord shut the door, he is a very compassionate fellow — Trim, — yet I cannot help entertaining an high opinion of his guest too; there must be something more than common in him, that in so short a time should win so much upon the affections of his host; — And of his whole family, added the corporal, for they are all concerned for him. — Step after him, said my uncle Toby, — do, Trim — and ask if he knows his name.

— I have quite forgot it, truly, said the landlord, coming back into the parlour with the corporal, — but I can ask his son again. — Has he a son with him then? said my uncle Toby. — A boy, replied the landlord, of about eleven or twelve years of age; — but the poor creature has tasted almost as little as his father; he does nothing but mourn and lament for him night and day; — he has not stirred from the bed-side these two days.

My uncle Toby laid down his knife and fork and thrust his plate before him, as the landlord gave him the account; and Trim, without being ordered, took away without saying one word, and

in a few minutes after brought him his pipe and tobacco.

— Stay in the room a little, says my uncle Toby. —

Trim! — said my uncle Toby, after he had lighted his pipe, and smoked about a dozen whiffs. — Trim came in front of his master and made his bow; — my uncle Toby smoked on, and said no more. — Corporal! said my uncle Toby — the corporal made his bow. — My uncle Toby proceeded no farther, but finished his pipe.

Trim! said my uncle Toby, I have a project in my head, as it is a bad night, of wrapping myself up warm in my roquelaure, and paying a visit to this poor gentleman. — Your honour's roquelaure, replied the corporal, has not once been had on, since the night before your honour received your wound, when we mounted guard in the trenches before the gate of St. Nicholas; — and besides, it is so cold and rainy a night, that what with the roquelaure, and what with the weather, 'twill be enough to give your honour your death... — I fear so, replied my uncle Toby; but I am not at rest in my mind, Trim, since the account the landlord has given me. — I wish I had not known so much of this affair, — added my uncle Toby, — or that I had known more of it. How shall we manage

it? — Leave it, an't please your honour, to me, quoth the corporal; — I'll take my hat, and stick, and go to the house and reconnoitre, and act accordingly; and I will bring your honour a full account in an hour. — Thou shalt go, Trim, said my uncle Toby, and here's a shilling for thee to drink with his servant. — I shall get it all out of him, said the corporal, shutting the door.

My uncle Toby filled his second pipe; and had it not been that he now and then wandered from the point, with considering whether it was not full as well to have the curtain of the tennaile a straight line, as a crooked one, — he might be said to have thought of nothing else but poor Le Fevre and his boy the whole time he smoked it.

It was not till my uncle Toby had knocked the ashes out of his third pipe, that corporal Trim returned from the inn, and gave him the following account.

I despaired at first, said the corporal, of being able to bring back your honour any kind of intelligence concerning the poor sick lieutenant. — Is he in the army then? said my uncle Toby. — He is, said the corporal. — And in what regiment? said my uncle Toby. — I'll tell your honour, replied the corporal, every thing straight forwards, as I learnt it. — Then, Trim, I'll fill another pipe, said my uncle Toby, and not interrupt thee till

thou hast done; so sit down at thy ease, Trim, in the window-seat, and begin thy story again. The corporal made his old bow which generally spoke as plain as a how could speak it — „Your honour is good.“ — And having done that, he sat down, as he was ordered, and began the story to my uncle Toby over again in pretty near the same words.

I despaired at first, said the corporal, of being able to bring back any intelligence to your honour about the lieutenant and his son; for when I asked where his servant was, from whom I made myself sure of knowing every thing which was proper to be asked — That's a right distinction, Trim, said my uncle Toby — I was answered an't please your honour, that he had no servant with him; that he had come to the inn with hired horses, which, upon finding himself unable to proceed, (to join, I suppose, the regiment) he had dismissed the morning after he came. — If I get better, my dear, said he, as he gave his purse to his son to pay the man, — we can hire horses from hence. — But alas! the poor gentleman will never get from hence, said the landlady to me, — for I heard the death-watch all night long; — and when he dies, the youth, his son, will certainly die with him; for he is broken-hearted already.

I was hearing this account, continued the corporal, when the youth came into the kitchen, to order the thin toast the landlord spoke of; but I

will do it for my father myself, said the youth. — Pray let me save you the trouble, young gentleman, said I, taking up a fork for the purpose, and offering him my chair to sit down upon by the fire, whilst I did it. — I believe, Sir, said he, very modestly, I can please him best myself. — I am sure, said I, his honour will not like the toast the worse for being toasted by an old soldier. — The youth took hold of my hand, and instantly burst into tears. — Poor youth! said my uncle Toby, — he has been bred up from an infant in the army, and the name of a soldier, Trim, sounded in his ears like the name of a friend; I wish I had him here.

— I never in the longest march, said the corporal, had so great a mind to my dinner, as I had to cry with him for company: — what could be the matter with me, an't please your honour? Nothing in the world, Trim, said my uncle Toby, blowing his nose, — but thou art a good-natured fellow.

When I gave him the toast, continued the corporal, I thought it was proper to tell him I was Captain Shandy's servant, and that your honour (though a stranger) was extremely concerned for his father; — and that if there was any thing in your house or cellar — (and thou mightst have added my purse too, said my uncle Toby) — he was heartily welcome to it: — He made me a very low bow, (which was meant to your honour) but no

answer, — for his heart was full — so he went upstairs with the toast: I warrant you, my dear, said I, as I opened the kitchen-door, your father will be well again. — Mr. Yorick's curate was smoking a pipe by the kitchen fire, — but said not a word good or bad to comfort the youth. — I thought it was wrong, added the corporal — I think so too, said my uncle Toby.

When the lieutenant had taken his glass of sack and toast, he felt himself a little revived, and sent down into the kitchen, to let me know, that in about ten minutes he should be glad if I would step upstairs. — I believe, said the landlord, he is going to say his prayers, — for there was a book laid upon the chair by his bed-side, and as I shut the door I saw his son take up a cushion. —

I thought, said the curate, that you gentlemen of the army, Mr. Trim, never said your prayers at all. — I heard the poor gentleman say his prayers last night, said the landlady, very devoutly, and with my own ears, or I could not have believed it. — Are you sure of it? replied the curate. — A soldier, an' please your reverence, said I, prays as often (of his own accord) as a parson; — and when he is fighting for his king, and for his own life, and for his honour too, he has the most reason to pray to God, of any one in the whole world. — 'Twas well said of thee, Trim, said my uncle Toby. — But when a soldier, said I, an' please your reverence,

has been standing for twelve hours together in the trenches, up to his knees in cold water, — or engaged, said I, for months together in long and dangerous marches; — harrassed, perhaps, in his rear to-day; — harrassing others to morrow; — detached here; — countermanded there; — resting this night upon his arms; — beat up in his shirt the next; — benumbed in his joints; — perhaps without straw in his tent to kneel on; — he must say his prayers how and when he can. — I believe, said I, — for I was piqued, quoth the corporal, for the reputation of the army, — I believe, an't please your reverence, said I, that when a soldier gets time to pray, — he prays as heartily as a parson — though not with all his fuss and hypocrisy. — Thou shouldst not have said that, Trim, said my uncle Toby, — for God only knows who is a hypocrite, and who is not: — At the great and general review of us all, corporal, at the day of judgement (and not till then) — it will be seen who has done their duties in this world, — and who has not; and we shall be advanced, Trim, accordingly. — I hope we shall, said Trim. — It is in the scripture, said my uncle Toby; and I will shew it thee to-morrow: — In the mean time, we may depend upon it, Trim, for our comfort, said my uncle Toby, that God Almighty is so good and just a governor of the world, that if we have but done our duties in it, — it will never be enquired into, whether we have done them in a red coat or a black one: — I hope

not, said the corporal. — But go on, Trim, said my uncle Toby, with thy story.

When I went up, continued the corporal, into the lieutenant's room, which I did not do till the expiration of the ten minutes, — he was lying in his bed with his head raised upon his hand, with his elbow upon the pillow, and a clean white cambric handkerchief beside it. — The youth was just stooping down to take up the cushion, upon which I suppose he had been kneeling, — the book was laid upon the bed, — and as he rose, in taking up the cushion with one hand, he reached out his other to take it away at the same time. — Let it remain there, my dear, said the lieutenant.

He did not offer to speak to me, till I had walked up close to his bed-side: — If you are Captain Shandy's servant, said he, you must present my thank to your master, with my little boy's thanks along with them, for his courtesy to me, — if he was of Leven's — said the lieutenant. — I told him your honour was. — Then, said he, I served three campaigns with him in Flanders, and remember him — but 'tis most likely, as I had not the honour of any acquaintance with him, that he knows nothing of me. — You will tell him, however, that the person his good-nature has laid under obligations to him, is one Le Fevre, a lieutenant in Angus' — but he knows me not, — said he, a second time, musing; — possibly he may my story — added he —

pray, tell the captain, I was the ensign at Breda, whose wife was most unfortunately killed with a musket-shot. . . — I remember the story, an't please your honour, said I, very well. — Do you so? said he, wiping his eyes with his handkerchief, — then well may I. — In saying this, he drew a little ring out of his bosom, which seemed tied with a black ribband about his neck, and kissed it twice. — Here, Billy, said he, the boy flew across the room to the bed-side, and falling down upon his knee, took the ring in his hand, and kissed it too, — then kissed his father, and sat down upon the bed and wept.

I wish, said my uncle Toby, with a deep sigh, — I wish, Trim, I was asleep.

Your honour, replied the corporal, is too much concerned; — shall I pour your honour out a glass of sack to your pipe? — Do, Trim, said my uncle Toby.

I remember, said my uncle Toby, sighing again, the story of the ensign and his wife; . . . but finish the story thou art upon: — 'Tis finished already, said the corporal, — for I could stay no longer, — so wished his honour a good night; young Le Fevre rose from off the bed, and saw me to the bottom of the stairs; and as we went down together, told me, they had come from Ireland, and were on their route to join their regi-

ment in Flanders. — But alas! said the corporal, — the lieutenant's last day's march is over. — Then what is to become of his poor boy? cried my uncle Toby.

It was to my uncle Toby's eternal honour, — though I tell it only for the sake of those, who, when cooped in betwixt a natural and a positive law, know not for their souls, which way in the world to turn themselves — that notwithstanding my uncle Toby was warmly engaged at that time in carrying on the siege of Dendermond, parallel with the allies, who pressed theirs so vigorously, that they scarce allowed him time to get his dinner — that nevertheless he gave up Dendermond, though he had already made a lodgement upon the counter-scarp, and bent his whole thoughts towards the private distresses at the inn; and except that he ordered the garden-gate to be bolted up, by which he might be said to have turned the siege of Dendermond into a blockade, — he left Dendermond to itself, — to be relieved or not by the French king, as the French king thought good; and only considered, how he himself should relieve the poor lieutenant and his son.

— That kind Being, who is a friend to the friendless, shall recompense thee for this!

Thou hast left this matter short, said my uncle Toby to the corporal, as he was putting him to

bed, — and I will tell thee in what, Trim. — In the first place, when thou madest an offer of my services to Le Fevre, — as sickness and travelling are both expensive, and thou knowest he was but a poor lieutenant, with a son to subsist as well as himself, out of his pay, — that thou didst not make an offer to him of my purse; because, had he stood in need, thou knowest, Trim, he had been as welcome to it as myself. — Your honour knows, said the corporal, I had no orders; — True, quoth my uncle Toby, — thou didst very right, Trim, as a soldier, — but certainly very wrong as a man.

In the second place, for which, indeed, thou hast the same excuse, continued my uncle Toby, — when thou offeredst him whatever was in my house, — thou shouldst have offered him my house too: — A sick brother-officier should have the best quarters, Trim; and if we had him with us, — we could tend and look to him: — Thou art an excellent nurse thyself, Trim, — and what with thy care of him, and the old woman's, and his boy's, and mine together, we might recruit him again at once, and set him upon his legs.

— In a fortnight or three weeks, added my uncle Toby, smiling, — he might march. — He will never march, an' please your honour, in this world, said the corporal; — He will march, said my uncle Toby, rising up from the side of the bed, with one shoe off. — An' please your honour, said the corporal, he will

never march but to his grave: — He shall march, cried my uncle Toby, marching the foot which had a shoe on, though without advancing an inch, — he shall march to his regiment. — He cannot stand it, said the corporal. — He shall be supported, said my uncle Toby. — He'll drop at last, said the corporal, and what will become of his boy? — He shall not drop, said my uncle Toby, firmly. — A'well-o'day, — do what we can for him, said Trim, maintaining his point, — the poor soul will die: — He shall not die, by G —, cried my uncle Toby.

— The accusing spirit, which flew up to heaven's chancery with the oath, blushed as he gave it in — and the recording angel, as he wrote it down, dropp'd a tear upon the word, and blotted it out for ever.

— My uncle Toby went to his bureau, — put his purse into his pocket, and having ordered the corporal to go early in the morning for a physician, — he went to bed and fell asleep.

The sun looked bright the morning after, to every eye in the village but Le Fevre's and his afflicted son's; the hand of death pressed heavy upon his eye-lids, — and hardly could the wheel at the cistern turn round its circle, — when my uncle Toby, who had rose up an hour before his wonted time, entered the lieutenant's room, and without preface or apology, sat himself down upon the chair,

by the bed-side, and independently of all modes and customs, opened the curtain in the manner an old friend and brother-officer would have done it, and asked him how he did, — how he had rested in the night, — what was his complaint, — where was his pain, — and what he could do to help him? — and without giving him time to answer any one of the enquiries, went on and told him of the little plan which he had been concerting with the corporal the night before him. —

You shall go home directly, Le Fevre, said my uncle Toby, to my house, — and we'll send for a doctor to see what's the matter, — and we'll have an apothecary, — and the corporal shall be your nurse, — and I'll be your servant, Le Fevre.

There was a frankness in my uncle Toby, — not the effect of familiarity, — but the cause of it, — which let you at once into his soul, and shewed you the goodness of his nature; to this, there was something in his looks, and voice, and manner, superadded, which eternally beckoned to the unfortunate to come and take shelter under him; so that before my uncle Toby had half finished the kind offers he was making to the father, had the son insensibly pressed up close to his knees, and had taken hold of the breast of his coat, and was pulling it towards him. — The blood and spirits of Le Fevre, which were waxing cold and flow within him, and were retreating to their last citadel,

the heart, — rallied back, the film forsook his eyes for a moment, — he looked up wishfully in my uncle Toby's face, — then cast a look upon his boy — and that ligament, fine as it was, was never broken.

Nature instantly ebb'd again, — the film returned to its place, — the pulse flutter'd — stopp'd — went on — throbb'd — stopp'd again — mov'd — stopp'd — shall I go on? — No.

VIII.

Characteristicks, by Shaftsbury.

Vol. III. Miscellany III. chap. 1.

On Love of one's Country.

Of all human affections, the noblest and most becoming human nature, is that of love to one's country. This, perhaps, will easily be allow'd by all men, who have really a country, and are of the number of those who may be call'd a people, as enjoying the happiness of a real constitution and polity, by which they are free and independent. There are few such country-men or free-men so degenerate, as directly to discountenance or condemn this passion of love to their community and national brotherhood. The indirect manner of opposing this principle, is the most usual. We hear it commonly, as a complaint, „that there is little of this love „extant in the world.“ From whence it is hastily concluded, „That there is little or nothing of friendly „or social affection inherent in our nature, or proper to our species.“ It is however apparent, that

there is scarce a creature of human kind, who is not possess'd at least with some inferiour degree or meaner sort of this natural affection to a country.

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine captos
Ducit.

Ovid. Pont. lib. I. Eleg. 5. v. 35.

It is a wretched aspect of humanity which we figure to our-selves, when we would endeavour to resolve the very essence and foundation of this generous passion into a relation to mere clay and dust, exclusively of any thing sensible, intelligent, or moral. It is, I must own, on certain relations, or respective proportions, that all natural affection does in some measure depend. And in this view it cannot, I confess, be denied that we have each of us a certain relation to the mere earth itself, the very mould or surface of that planet, in which, with other animals of various sorts, we, poor reptiles! were also bred and nourish'd. But had it happened to one of us Britishmen to have been born at sea, could we not therefore properly be call'd Britishmen? Could we be allowed country-men of no sort, as having no distinct relation to any certain soil or region; no original neighbourhood but with the watry inhabitants and sea-monsters? Surely, if we were born of lawful parents, lawfully employed, and under the protection of law; wherever they might be then detained, to whatever colonies sent, or whithersoever driven by any accident, or in expeditions or adventures in the public service, or

that of mankind, we should still find we had a home, and country, ready to lay claim to us. We should be obliged still to consider ourselves as fellow-citizens, and might be allowed to love our country or nation as honestly and heartily as the most inland inhabitant or native of the soil. Our political and social capacity would undoubtedly come in view, and be acknowledged full as natural and essential in our species, as the parental and filial kind, which gives rise to what we peculiarly call natural affection. Or supposing that both our birth and parents had been unknown, and that in this respect we were in a manner younger brothers in society to the rest of mankind; yet, from our nurture and education, we should surely espouse some country or other, and joyfully embracing the protection of a magistracy, should of necessity and by force of nature join ourselves to the general society of mankind, and those in particular, with whom we had entered into a nearer communication of benefits, and closer sympathy of affections. It may therefore be esteemed no better than a mean subterfuge of narrow minds, to assign this natural passion for society and a country, to such a relation as that of a mere fungus or common excrescence, to its parent-mould. . .

The relation of country-man, if it be allowed any thing at all, must imply something moral and social. The nation itself presupposes a naturally civil and political state of mankind, and has reference

to that particular part of society to which we owe our chief advantages as men, and rational creatures, such as are naturally and necessarily united for each other's happiness and support, and for the highest of all happinesses and enjoyments; „The intercourse of minds, the free use of our „reason, and the exercise of mutual love and „friendship.“

An ingenious physician among the moderns, having in view the natural dependency of the vegetable and animal kinds on their common mother Earth, and observing, that both the one and the other draw from her their continual sustenance, (some rooted and fixed down to their first abodes, others unconfined, and wandering from place to place to suck their nourishment): he accordingly, as I remember, styles this latter animal-race, her releas'd sons; *filios terrae emancipatos*. Now if this be our only way of reckoning for mankind, we may call ourselves indeed, the sons of Earth, at large; but not of any particular soil, or district. The division of climates and regions is fantastic and artificial; much more the limits of particular countries, cities, or provinces. Our *natale solum*, or mother-earth, must, by this account, be the real globe itself which bears us, and in respect of which we must allow the common animals, and even the plants of all degrees, to claim an equal brotherhood with us, under this common Parent.

According to this calculation, we must, of necessity, carry our relation as far as to the whole material world or universe, where alone it can prove complete. But, for the particular district or tract of earth, which, in a vulgar sense, we call our country, however bounded or geographically divided, we can never, at this rate, frame any accountable relation to it, nor consequently assign any natural or proper affection towards it.

If unhappily a man had been born either at an inn, or in some dirty village: he would hardly, I think, circumscribe himself so narrowly as to accept a denomination or character from those nearest appendices, or local circumstances of his nativity. So far should one be from making the hamlet or parish to be characteristical in the case, that hardly would the shire itself, or country, however rich or flourishing, be taken into the honorary term or appellation of one's Country.

„What, then, shall we presume to call our „country? Is it England itself? — But what Scotland? — Is it therefore Britain? — But what of „the other islands, the northern Orcades, and the „southern Jersey and Guernsey? What of the Plantations and poor Ireland?“ — Behold, here, a very dubious circumscription!

But what, after all, if there be a conquest or captivity in the case? a migration? a national se-

cession, or abandonment of our native seats for some other soil or climate? This has happened, we know, to our fore-fathers. And as great and powerful a people as we have been of late, and have ever shown ourselves under the influence of free councils, and a tolerable ministry; should we relapse again into slavish principles, or be administered long under such heads, as having no thought of liberty for themselves, can have much less for Europe or their neighbours; we may at last feel a war at home, become the seat of it, and in the end a conquest. We might then gladly embrace the hard condition of our predecessors, and exchange our beloved native soil for that of some remote and uninhabited part of the world. Now should this possibly be our fate; should some considerable colony or body be formed afterwards out of our remains, or meet, as it were by miracle, in some distant climate; would there be, for the future, no Englishman remaining? no common bond of alliance and friendship, by which we could still call countrymen, as before? How came we, I pray, by our ancient name of Englishmen? Did it not travel with us over land and sea? Did we not, indeed, bring it with us heretofore from as far as the remoter parts of Germany to this Island?

I must confess, I have been apt sometimes to be very angry with our language, for having denied us the use of the word *patria*, and afforded us no other name to express our native community

than that of country; which already bore two different significations, abstracted from mankind or society. Reigning words are many times of such force as to influence us considerably in our apprehension of things. Whether it be from any such cause as this, I know not; but certain it is, that, in the idea of a civil state or nation, we Englishmen are apt to mix somewhat more than ordinary gross and earthy. No people who owed so much to a constitution, and so little to a soil or climate, were ever known so indifferent towards one, and so passionately fond of the other. One would imagine, from the common discourse of our countrymen, that the finest lands near the Euphrates, the Babylonian or Persian paradises, the rich plains of Egypt, the Grecian Tempe, the Roman Campania, Lombardy, Provence, the Spanish Andalusia, or the most delicious tracts in the Eastern or Western Indies, were contemptible countries in respect of Old England.

Now, by the good leave of these worthy patriots of the soil, I must take the liberty to say, I think Old England to have been in every respect a very indifferent country; and that Late England, of an age or two old, even since Queen Bess's days, is indeed very much mended for the better. We were, in the beginning of her grandfather's reign, under a sort of Polish nobility, and had no other liberties than what were in common to us with the then fashionable monarchies and Gothic

lordships of Europe. For religion, indeed, we were highly famed, above all nations, by being the most subject to our ecclesiastics at home, and the best tributaries and servants to the Holy See abroad.

I must go further yet, and own, that I think Late England, since the Revolution, to be better still than Old England, by many a degree; and that, in the main, we make somewhat a better figure in Europe, than we did a few reigns before. But however our people may of late have flourished, our name, or credit have risen; our trade and navigation, our manufactures, or our husbandry been improved; it is certain, that our region, climate, and soil, is, in its own nature, still one and the same. And to whatever politeness we may suppose ourselves already arrived, we must confess, that we are the latest barbarous, the last civilized or polished people of Europe. We must allow, that our first conquest by the Romans brought us out of a state hardly equal to the Indian tribes; and that our last conquest by the Normans brought us only into the capacity of receiving arts and civil accomplishments from abroad. They came to us by degrees, from remote distances, at second or third hand; from other courts, states, academies, and foreign nurseries of wit and manners.

Notwithstanding this, we have as overweening an opinion of ourselves, as if we had a claim to be original and earthborn. As oft as we have changed

our masters, and mixed races with our several successive conquerors, we still pretend to be as legitimate and genuine possessors of our soil, as the ancient Athenians accounted themselves to have been of theirs. It is remarkable, however, in that truly ancient, wise, and witty people, that as fine territories and noble countries as they possess'd, and indisputable masters and superiors as they were in all science, wit, politeness and manners; they were yet so far from a conceited, selfish, and ridiculous contempt of others, that they were, even in a contrary extreme, „admirers of whatever was in the least degree ingenious or curious in foreign nations.“ Their great men were constant travellers. Their legislators and philosophers made their voyages into Egypt, passed into Chaldea and Persia, and failed not to visit most of the dispersed Grecian governments and colonies through the islands of the Aegean in Italy, and on the coasts of Asia and Africa. It was mentioned as a prodigy, in the case of a great philosopher, though known to have been always poor, „That he should never have travelled, nor had ever gone out of Athens for his improvement.“ How modest a reflection in those who were themselves Athenians!

For our part, we neither care that foreigners should travel to us, nor any of ours should travel into foreign countries. Our best policy and breeding is, it seems, „To look abroad as little as possible; contract our views within the narrowest compass; and despise all knowledge, learning, or manners

„which are not of a home-growth,“ For hardly will the ancients themselves be regarded by those who have so resolute a contempt of what the politeft moderns of any nation, besides their own, may have advanced in the way of literature, politeness, or philosophy.



Verbesserungen.

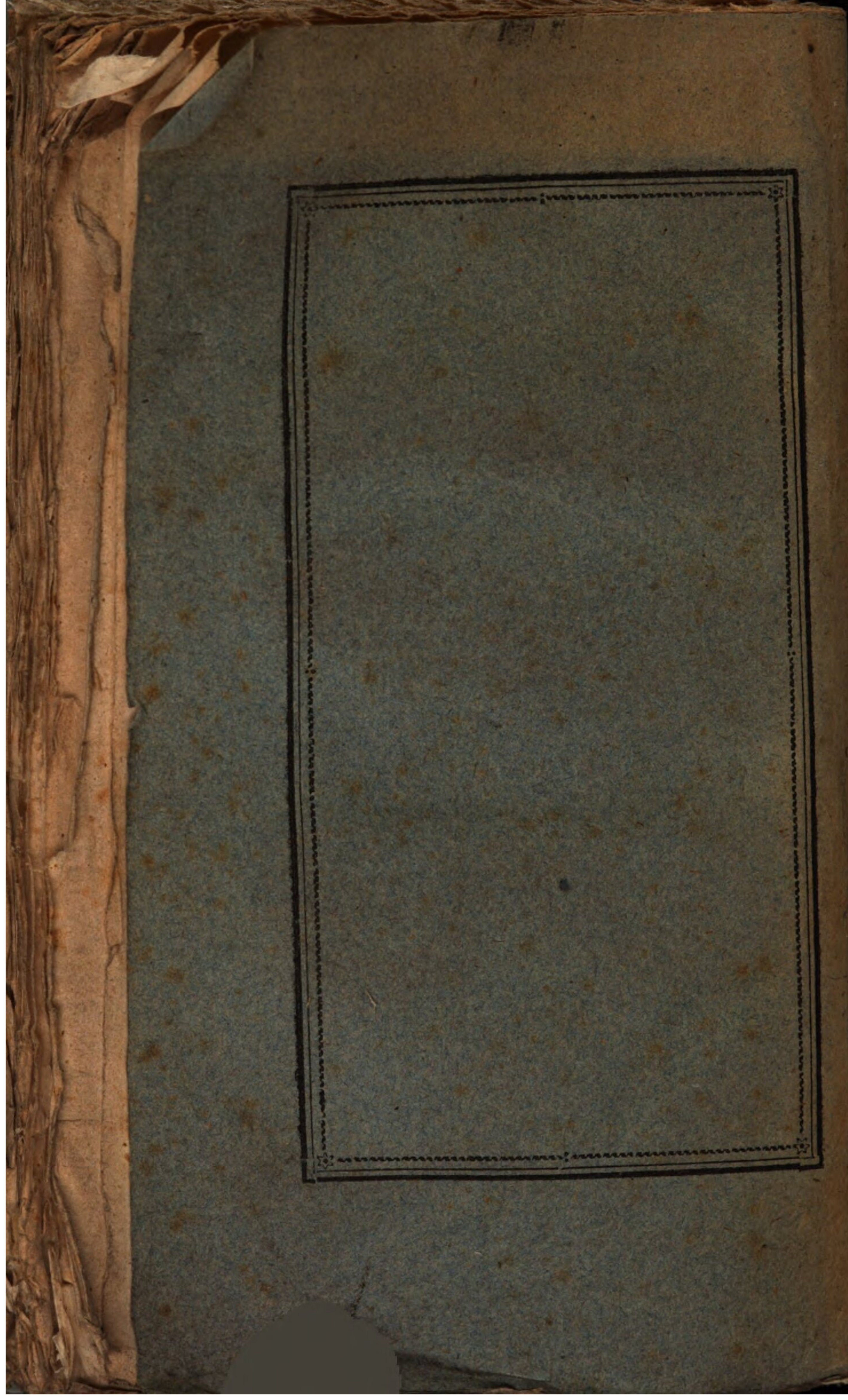
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Allen denen, welche schon einigen Unterricht genossen haben und die englische Sprache gründlich erlernen und sich ganz mit ihrem Geiste vertraut machen wollen, müssen wir folgendes Buch, als unentbehrlich hierzu, dringend empfehlen:

Sam. Johnson's englische Sprachlehre. Englisch und deutsch. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Dr. Fr. Otto. gr. 8. München 1821 bey Fleischmann. 20 gr. oder 1 fl. 30 fr.



Otto, Friedrich

Englisches Lesebuch Prosaischer Th

Erlangen 1822

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